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ROME, BEFORE THE STATE

Architecture and Persuasion in the Early Modern City

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ABSTRACT

Rome, before the State is a historical exploration of the role architecture has played in constructing affective relations of power. It is an attempt to trace the transformation of the city of Rome against the background of shifting state–church relations between the mid-fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. This period is framed by two events: the struggle of the papacy to establish its seat of temporal power in Rome in the quattrocento and the convoluted context of the Thirty Years’ War in the mid-seventeenth century. This is the period in which an increasingly polycentric and rational, political world was emerging. Central to this work is Paolo Prodi’s critical exposé of papal power over this period, which he elaborated in *Il Soverano Pontefice*. While Prodi closely follows the legal, administrative, and organizational attempts by which papal power was transformed and centralized, here I will entangle this history with its spatial and sensorial correlates, which mark out a particular history of architecture. If Paolo Prodi argued that, during the period explored here, Rome became a political laboratory that influenced the process of state-building in Europe, my contention is that Rome’s contribution to modern statecraft was not restricted to its administrative practices, as Prodi emphasizes. Rather, I will argue that it was in the affective and spatial techniques of persuasion that were discovered throughout this period that a certain legacy of modern western European power could be observed. In other words, it is in early modern Rome that a new form of modern power emerged that was characterized not only by the rationalization of its practices and development of early governmental mechanisms but also by the embracement of a spatial and affective dimension to cultivate relations of allegiance through the city itself.

This thesis is thus an examination of the correlation between the spatial, affective and administrative means by which the papacy began to fashion the pope as a sovereign, and Rome as the capital of the Papal States. I argue that it is in Rome during this period that the simultaneous transformations of the space of the city and of power became indistinguishable from one another. The papacy's continuous intervention to the city of Rome set in motion over the course of these two centuries not only harnessed allegiance through the traditional means of legal and military force, but also through the cultivation of an affective grip on the life of the city's citizens. Over this period, the papal court, I will argue, began to develop sensory and spatial techniques that subsequently became instrumental to the formation of modern state machinery. In this way, *Rome, before the State*, has two aims: on the one hand, it seeks to achieve a spatial extension of Prodi's argument; and on the other hand, it is an attempt to construct a history of the spatial techniques of persuasion that the papacy developed as a means of transforming its power. In this way, the thesis is an effort to understand the affective dimensions of power which arguably precedes the emergence of the modern state, but nonetheless contributes to it.

More specifically, the thesis follows three distinct spatial moments in the history of the papacy during the period that Prodi examines. I will question how three distinct popes – Eugenius IV, ruling from 1431 to 1447, Sixtus V, ruling from 1585 to 1590, and Urban VIII, pope from 1623 to 1644 – each enabled a series of transformations of the space of Rome whose resulting organizations and architectures had indirect, but nevertheless real consequences in the sphere of power. In investigating these three popes and the Rome they shaped, I will not restrict my reading to the works that they directly authored, but will also include those that they strategically enabled. In this way, what will be emphasized is the predominance of three conceptual categories that, under their respective papacies, became crucial frameworks through which to reconsider the coupling of each pope's temporal power with the realm of spatial experience: magnificence, liturgy, and *admiratio* (wonder). In each case, I will provide a brief conceptual history of the concept, the historical context in which they acquired specificity, and a series of architectural and urban vignettes that collectively illustrate their broader spatialization. In tracing the theological and philosophical histories of these concepts, as well as the distinct manner in which a set of spatial interventions were deployed by the papal court, I will attempt to frame a certain relation between the secular and the theological from an architectural perspective.

Throughout this work, Carl Schmitt's famous words, "all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts" resonate. This argument was not foreign to Walter Benjamin, nor to Max Weber, Ernst Kantorowicz and, more recently, Giorgio Agamben. In these scholars' writings, the relation between the secular and the theological acquired a specificity through the understanding of liturgical acclamation, canon law or biblical exegesis, among other things. Yet here, this thesis proposes to contribute to our understanding of such convoluted relations by instead following the continuous interest the papal court maintained in transforming the space of the city in early modern Rome. In doing so, I underline certain persuasive techniques that lay at the heart of

papal power, which were instrumental in imagining an early modern power that constituted itself through the affective and, we could say, sensual dimensions through which it operated. In following the spatialization of these categories, I begin to distance my reading of papal power from that of Prodi, to frame instead the historical basis on which I can contribute to an architectural understanding of the relation between secular and theological concepts. That is to say, what we will find in this study is that architecture and city space, more broadly, takes on the role of a conduit between the theological and the secular. In doing this, the transformation of city space becomes a crucial lens by which to understand the conditions of emergence of an early form of modern western power.

While clearly attempting to contribute to a political understanding of the affective dimension of architecture, this thesis is nonetheless shaped by the intersection of architectural historiography, political theory and philosophy. It is only as such that in each moment we can ask what the role of space is in the assertion of the temporal power of the papacy. Or, to put it differently, how can our understanding of the papacy's temporal power shed light on the political role of the experience of space? And, finally, it is in this way that we can advance conjectures as to how this period provides an image of the manner in which space, architecture, and artifacts have contributed to the early formation of modern subjectivity.

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INTRODUCTION

This work starts, unusually, with an autobiographical observation. Like many architects practicing in the late 2000s, I became part of a multi-disciplinary team within a high profile urban design office involved in the conceptualization of several *new cities*. At that time, my role as an architect seemed not to be unusual. This was a moment in which many large architecture offices throughout the world were increasingly commissioned to design large-scale urban projects. Projects such as *Masdar City* in Abu Dhabi, by Foster and Partners, *Waterfront City* in Dubai, by OMA, *Eko Atlantic* in Lagos, *Songdo International Business District* in South Korea, the *Hudson Yards* development in New York, the many *eco-cities*, like Dongtan, planned across China and new *eco-towns* proposed across the United Kingdom had all become case studies, with architecture firms beginning to develop a new domain of expertise. Of course, this scale of architectural activity has many precedents in architectural history. Yet the political and economic conditions upon which these projects were predicated, as well as their multi-disciplinary nature, called for architects to occupy new roles in order to integrate these other forms of knowledge, which more often preceded the process of design itself. In engaging with economists, sociologists, policy-makers, risk managers, infrastructural consultants, energy consultants, and real estate developers, the task of architectural design had suddenly become akin to translation. Most often, as was certainly my own case, the role of the architect was to convert the abstraction of regulations, market analytics, policy guidelines, institutional frameworks, risk-management challenges, infrastructural strategies, and energy targets into immersive urban wonderlands. As opposed to the hard, black and white lines of the traditional architectural drawing, one of the main outcomes of the architect's translation has become the production of hyper-realistic visualizations, which present an elastic expression of the urban project: far from the visionary masterplans of the twentieth century, these projects are arguably integrated, administrative, economical, and even at times juridico-political strategies enacted in space.¹ If the role of the architect has become that of a translator, s/he must master the art of rendering the abstractions of late capitalism into mystified experiences of a value-free depiction of the everyday. As architects labor so intensively over the experiential dimension of these projects, and as these projects, together with their visual lexicon, circulate in a complex web of forces characteristic of neoliberal networks of power, it seems possible that the attention that is paid to the aesthetic dimension of these projects signals not only the effect of the myriad external forces that produces urban projects, nor merely a technique of propaganda for developers, but instead should be seen as a component within a larger array of aesthetic techniques of contemporary power in its own right.

At that time, a growing number of critical voices in the architectural discourse had taken an interest in architecture's relation to the political realm. Crudely speaking, the work that emerged in this field followed two methodological tendencies: on the one hand, scholars like Keller Easterling, Reinhold Martin or Pier Vittorio Aureli had focused on the analysis of contemporary manifestations of global capitalism;² on the other hand, a renewed interest among architectural historians and theoreticians in Michel Foucault's genealogy of modern power and his elaboration of the notion of *biopolitics*³ began to open up new questions regarding the relation between histories of modern architecture and those of modern power. Take for example the work of Sven-Olov Wallenstein, Andrea Cavalletti, or that of various members of the Aggregate Architectural History Collaborative, whose writings began to interrogate the spatial counterparts of biopolitical power—the network of techniques and practices that constitute themselves through the administration of life itself.⁴ Issues ranging from the provision of housing, the institutionalization of architectural typologies, urban infrastructure for the procurement of public hygiene, to city regulations, became common subjects of analysis. Since then, scholarship contributing to the understanding of the relations between architecture and modern power has only blossomed. From these two methodological streams, among others, architecture has asserted itself as a crucial site through which to not only understand contemporary phenomena, but also to construct new histories that address present concerns. In other words, the analysis of problems in the immediate present were suddenly no longer mutually exclusive of the task of writing new histories.⁵

Despite these rich discursive developments, issues relating to the aesthetic experience of space, phenomenology and affect have been left largely unexplored. Or, to put it differently, those persuasive effects that I labored so intensively to produce in images, seemed to have little room in the critical readings of western cities, the focus of which was more often on its administrative dimension or capitalist underpinnings. Yet, as much as architectural criticism has assimilated the ideas of contemporary political theory, it is ironic that the immediacy of architecture itself—its materiality, details, the different forms in which the city is inhabited, the modes in which it is used, the habits that it enables, the persuasions and conduct it mobilizes and so on—is often overlooked.⁶ How might the increasingly immersive character of architecture and urban space reveal a certain experiential quality that is necessary to contemporary forms of power?

Within the architecture scholarship that draws on Foucault's genealogy of modern state power, there is a tendency to concentrate on the analysis of an architecture that can be measured through policies effected in relation to housing,⁷ through architecture's relation to trade agreements,⁸ through its entanglement with corporate practices,⁹ through its institutionalization,¹⁰ among others. Indeed, a paradigmatic turn in Foucault's genealogy seems to support these readings, as Foucault turns our attention to the increasing calculations, reflections and rationalizations of state interventions developed in France between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ This framework of analysis has become crucial for architectural thought precisely because many practices analyzed in

Foucault's account of the French state took the city as a primary medium in which to intervene in shaping relations between the governors and the governed.¹² In other words, through the deployment of new practices of public administration, such as the use of statistical knowledge, city-wide regulations and institutional frameworks, known then as "police science", the emerging centralized French state was capable of intervening in the life of its subjects through rationalized, systematic techniques of calculation that developed in tandem with the brute use of force.¹³ Foucault's analysis of the early modern French state represents a paradigmatic moment in his genealogy of modern governmentality. Its importance lies in providing a model by which to understand how the early modern state constitutes its rationality primarily as what would eventually take as its concern with the administration of life.¹⁴ From here, a clearer image emerges of what constitutes the modern biopolitical ordering of life, outlined as a network of practices, institutions, knowledge, and techniques of intervention in which life and the spaces it inhabits become also rationalized and calculated as a central concern for the power of the state. This field of studies has, indeed, received much attention, as mentioned above. Yet the question still remains: what do we risk overlooking in speaking about modern power if we favor its administrative expressions?

Upon a closer look at Foucault's genealogy, other potential avenues of investigation begin to reveal themselves. Indeed, one has to remember that his analyses of the French state, which occupied his work in the mid to late 1970s is only a component in his fundamental investigation of the modes and techniques by which Western power has historically guided, managed and influenced human conduct. Such an enquiry is anchored in a more distant history of "pastoral power", which takes us back as far as the third century in the pre-Christian Mediterranean East¹⁵. In his 1979 lecture, *Omnes et Singulatim*, Foucault uses the metaphor of the shepherd to analyze power relations in which the ruler (god, king or chief) does not command, but instead *leads*.¹⁶ In other words, the ruler who follows the theme of the pastor does not exercise his will over a given territory but instead intervenes strictly with regard to those in his flock and is interested in their conduct. Thus, the successes of the ruler/pastor are not measured by territorial expansion, military prowess, or displays of superiority, but rather by attaining the wellbeing of members of his flock and their means of subsistence. It is the duty of the pastor/ruler to perpetually provide for his subjects by constantly watching over them and intervening in their lives when needed. In brief, as Foucault argues: "Pastoral power is a power of care".¹⁷ According to Foucault, this *act of care* was transferred to the West via the dominance of the Christian Church.¹⁸ He argues:

"Of all civilizations, the Christian West has undoubtedly been, at the same time, the most creative, the most conquering, the most arrogant, and doubtless the most bloody. [...] But, at the same time, and this is the paradox, [...] over millennia Western man has learned to see himself as a sheep in a flock, something that assuredly no Greek would have been prepared to accept. Over millennia he has learned to ask for his salvation from a shepherd who sacrifices himself for him. The strangest form of power, the form of power that is most typical of the West, and that will also have the greatest and most durable fortune, was not born in the steppe or in the towns. This form of power so typical of the West, and unique, I think, in the entire history of civilizations, was born, or at least took its model from the fold, from politics seen as a matter of the sheep-fold."¹⁹

As we see, the transition from pastoral care to modern governmentality is fundamental to Foucault's genealogy. Indeed, to remember that this pastoral *act of care* sits at the outset of Foucault's genealogy of modern governmentality is not only to situate the pursuit of care at the very foundation of modern power, but also to open up new questions. What spheres of political intervention are available to the pursuit of care in modern times? If pastoral care involves not only an individualized and direct relation, but also an emotional and affective relation between the pastor and his flock, in what forms might the pastoral continue to reside at the center of modern and contemporary forms of power? Foucault's understanding of pastoral power outlines a schematic history that spans over a millennium from the third century on. Yet, the emphasis in his account brings attention to a crucial moment in the development of this form of power during with the intensification of religious wars during the reformation and counterreformation. It is with the analysis of the latter that Foucault sets out to question the modern struggle to define who would have the right to govern people. It is precisely the transition from pastoral power to modern state power that Foucault situates at the outset of his genealogical account of modern western power. Many have already followed Foucault's lead in the attempt to shed new light on this transition in power relations.²⁰ Crucial in this regard has been the recent work of Giorgio Agamben, who, building upon Foucault's analysis of Christian practices, argues that modern power is constituted both by effective management and by the network of ceremonial practices that glorify it.²¹ It is both involved with the "administration of the house",²² as well as with the maintenance of an affective, performative grip upon citizens. It is not only concerned with the regulation and management of wealth, goods, people and territory, but also with the act of governing souls. In other words, one can argue that early modern power not only operates through the rationalization of its practices, but also through a more persuasive network of affective strategies which allow care to construct power relations.

It is precisely to the persuasive and affective strategies of care that this thesis turns its attention with two convictions: first, that the space of the city, and the ways in which it is made to be perceived and experienced, is a crucial medium in which persuasive acts of care are deployed—that the city itself assists in forming, shaping and maintaining affective relations of power; second, for this reason, histories of the modern city can be written to help us understand not only the transition from pastoral power to modern state power, but also to grasp how rational and affective strategies of power begin to relate and recombine with each other. Following on from these convictions, many other questions arise which frame the initial premise of this investigation. How does the the space in which subjects dwell—the sphere of immediacy that surrounds, sustains and reproduces forms of life—constitute affective relations of power? How can a spatial experience relate to the forms in which modern power affects and is affected by its subjects? How might architectural interventions allow structures of power to bring subjects into affective relations of allegiance, obedience, admiration and even love? Can histories of the modern city reveal the correlation between the

regularization of its fabric and its experiential dimensions, between the delight of architectural expression and management of the conduct of souls?

These reflections cannot be separated from an interrogation of the form in which the canonical histories of the modern, Western city have been constructed. Frequently they present a history laden with scientific and biological analogies, privileging the centrality of the deployment and distribution of technology to architecture.²³ It is a history that arguably privileges the view from above, the plan as the generator—as Le Corbusier famously argued: “without a plan there is disorder, arbitrariness”.²⁴ What role could affects, experience or aesthetics have in such a rational depiction of the modern city? If there is room for affects and sensorial experience, it usually occupies a secondary status. And yet it is crucial to note that this depiction of the technological rationalizations of the modern Western city is consistent with Michel Foucault’s account of state power. And, as much as the architectural discourse has advanced analyses of politics and power, there has been little exploration regarding the how the latter relates to the manner in which the city is experienced and perceived.

If contemporary architectural discourse has allowed us to understand how, since the seventeenth century, modern power has increasingly intervened in the minutiae of life through regulatory practices, disciplinary procedures, institutions and techniques of administering life, then it could be said that, in emerging from this picture, architecture is already predisposed towards them. In this reading, architecture is increasingly subordinated to laws, standards, norms, statistical projections, administrative mandates and other techniques to manage a given population. To take an illustrative example, the house as an architectural object in the nineteenth century increasingly mutates into an administrative question of provision, ordering, distribution and allocation of population. All of this, situating instead *housing* closer to an administrative category—a category embedded in legal, administrative, statistical, and financial constraints—and farther from design concerns—form and materiality.²⁵ Yet the manner in which the city is experienced is often presented either as a secondary issue, or simply as a non-discursive matter. This thesis is an attempt to turn our attention toward the latter. It is an attempt to interrogate the space of the city as a sensorial medium for the deployment and procurement of care—a potential site in which pastoral power transforms, shifts and discovers new strategies to conduct its people in amicable and persuasive ways. As Foucault clarified:

“I am very likely still mistaken when I situate the end of the pastoral age in the eighteenth century, for in fact pastoral power in its typology, organization, and mode of functioning, pastoral power exercised as power, is doubtless something from which we have still not freed ourselves.”²⁶

Indeed, although throughout its history pastoral power has transformed, shifted and transferred itself to other realms, as Foucault and later Agamben argued, we have not yet done away with it. Foucault returned to similar issues when he analyzed neoliberalism’s extension of economic calculations into people’s irrational behavior.²⁷ Agamben, too, following Carl Schmitt, insisted that the function of acclamations and glory has been transferred in modernity to the realm of public opinion and the

production of consensus.²⁸ In the same way, a similar question is latent in the history of the modern city: Is it possible that the rationalization and regularization of urban processes has indeed superseded completely the need to maintain an affective grip on its citizens through other means?

I am not calling for a grand history, rather my aim is to open up a means by which to examine the affective dimensions of power as it has expressed itself in historically located spaces. It is perhaps no coincidence that recently greater attention has been given to affective understandings of power. From Brian Massumi's aesthetic-political critique of modern power,²⁹ to cultural geographer Ben Anderson's writing on affective power,³⁰ to the writings on the concept of atmosphere by legal scholar Andreas Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos,³¹ as well as many others, there have been attempts to expand not only an understanding of how life has become a rational object of governmental apparatuses, but specifically how life can be modulated and affected through external stimuli.³² In this picture, the role of the subject's immediacy in constituting affective relations of power comes to the foreground. Here my aim is to contribute to this discourse from an architectural historical perspective.

I will do this by examining a paradigmatic moment in the early modern history of the Roman Christian Church, when it faced much resistance to its pastoral power—what Foucault describes as “revolts of conduct”.³³ This period, which spans two centuries, from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, is crucial for us as it coincides with an increase in the attention given by the papal power to the fabric of Rome—an attention to the spaces in which its inhabitants dwelt, experienced and enjoyed: a scrutiny of the sites in which habits were constructed, conduct was maintained, and desires were cultivated. This is also the historical period in which the city was transformed from what we might call the monumental graveyard of the Roman Empire, to the magnificent capital of the Papal States. We will see how, in attempting to survive in an increasingly polycentric Europe, the papal power began to secularize many of its practices, rationalizing its procedures and discovering other spatial and experiential realms in which to perpetuate the deployment of its acts of care. In pursuing this investigation, I will draw on the compelling genealogy of modern state power of Paolo Prodi. In *Il Sovrano Pontefice*, Prodi traces the continual secularization of papal practices from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. His account provides a well-researched picture of the institutions, practices and administrative techniques that were developed within the papal court for intervening in “vital sectors of human existence which previously were considered entirely outside the political sphere”.³⁴ In doing this, Prodi sheds light on what he presents as “tools of modernization”³⁵ embedded in the emerging practices of the centralization of the papal court. These tools range from the establishment of a stable army, to the development of foreign policy protocols, to the organization of public accounting, the institutionalization of archival systems, the emergence of administrative posts within the papal court,³⁶ and the adoption of new ceremonial practices. Through them, Prodi argues that papal power, far from being obsolete in an increasingly polycentric Europe, served instead as a

prototype in the early formation of modern state power.³⁷ Indeed, Prodi's history of the Papal State's expansion of rationalized techniques resonances with Foucault's analysis of the reflexive and administrative practices that would emerge in France in the seventeenth century with the techniques of police science. However, in concentrating on the administrative practices of the Papal State, Prodi's account provides little mention of how the apparatuses of pastoral care would be perpetuated. In this space lies the potential of the present investigation.

In anticipating his critics, Prodi never denies the papacy's inability to construct a mature modern state like those that were emerging "north of the Alps".³⁸ Yet he insists that the secular transformations of the papal court, its centralized practices and the refashioning of the pope's dual personality as pope and "temporal prince", were foundational for the consequent emergence of the early modern state in Europe. Prodi's argument remains relevant, even while he does not deny the fluctuations in the continuation of papal policies, which naturally occurred as a result of the non-dynastic nature of the papacy and the nepotistic practices tolerated in the papal court. His history fits well within an established discourse regarding the relation between secular and theological concepts. Among those who have contributed to this debate are Carl Schmitt, with his famous argument that "all significant concepts of the modern theory of the State are secularized theological concepts",³⁹ Max Weber's thesis on secularization, the work of Hans Blumenberg, Jacob Taubes, Ernst Kantorowicz, and, more recently, Giorgio Agamben. Prodi contributes to this discourse by shedding light in the importance of papal power across two seminal centuries in which an array of administrative techniques and structural reformulations were developed, which, he argues were essential for the development of the modern, secular state. Without diminishing the importance of Prodi's history, the proposal here is to explore a line of enquiry that his account both inspires and leaves out. In anchoring the importance of the papal transformation in the development of administrative governmental procedures, I will use Prodi's argument to provide a new understanding of the construction of an affective dimension of power through spatial means operating at the very foundation of the early modern state. What arises from my investigation is an understanding of the consistent articulation between administrative and affective practices that was at the heart of early modern papal power.

Just as Prodi, I will pay specific attention to early modern Rome, which he saw not only as the capital of the Papal States, but also as a "political laboratory"⁴⁰ influencing the process of state-building in Europe. While Prodi acknowledges the continuous effort of the popes to care for the city's fabric, his comments on the spaces and architecture of the city remain largely schematic. Manfredo Tafuri had already attempted to explore Prodi's argument⁴¹ in observing the spatial practices of Pope Nicholas V, who ruled from 1447 to 1455, and his relation to Leon Battista Alberti.⁴² Tafuri, in concentrating his analysis on the role of a single pope, leaves unexplored the argument of the continuity of state-like strategies which lies at the core of Prodi's argument. However, Tafuri, indeed manages to advance Prodi's argument by which papal power is seen as

increasingly interfering in the public life of Rome's inhabitants and in the profane spaces of the city, which were previously beyond their realm of influence.

In order to explore the spatial consequences of Prodi's argument, this thesis investigates three papacies, each of which had a radically different relation to Rome. These figures trace the incremental transformation of papal power and the conditions which gave rise to their decision to pursue care through spatial means. Each of these analytic narratives corresponds to a chapter in this thesis, in which our attention focuses, in turn, on Eugenius IV (ruled 1431 to 1447), Sixtus V (ruled 1585 to 1590), and Urbano VIII (ruled 1623 to 1644). These rulers had radically different approaches to the procurement of papal care, and to the cultivation of their subjects' affection. Yet, their distinctions allow us to trace how, increasingly, the sphere of care was transferred to the realm of the subjects' experience in the life of the city, with the result that it became entangled with the ordinary practices of the everyday and was made almost indistinguishable from the daily habits, routines, desires and pleasures of the inhabitants of Rome. In order to expand on this, we reflect not only on the urban projects that these different popes oversaw, but also on the wider political relations in which they were involved, both in Rome and beyond. I analyze each pope's spatial agenda in relation to a set of theological concepts that had historical relevance for each of their reigns, and thus I shed light on the nature of each ruler's spatio-political project: Eugenius IV's works are assessed in relation to the changing status of the concept of magnificence; Sixtus V's formalization of pilgrimage is addressed against his understanding of liturgy; and Urbano VIII's proliferation of theatrical effects in the urban space is analyzed by reference to his insistence in evoking *admiratio* (admiration/wonder). Throughout these chapters we will learn how these concepts are not givens, but emerge from, and are transformed through their aestheticization by, the papal court.⁴³ By analyzing the specific forms in which the transformation of these concepts was correlated with the pursuit of specific spatial relations, we will attempt to understand how a long-standing religious set of practices, embedded in the ancient practices of the Roman Church and in practices that were akin to pastoral power, transformed to engage directly with the experience of its citizens. Not only does this investigation allow us to understand a critical moment in the transformation of early modern power, it also helps us to speculate regarding the formation of an early modern subjectivity which was not founded upon law, or on punishment, but rather on a more indirect, persuasive and affective basis. In a period of religious decline, one wonders if the crucial influence of papal power was due to the development not of an administrative state-apparatus, as Prodi argues, but of an affective one.

As mentioned above, the thesis is composed of three major chapters. The first one focuses on a figure who is rather distant in the architectural discourse, Eugenius IV, who ruled from 1431 to 1447. His rule never achieved stability: his spiritual and temporal supremacy was constantly threatened from within the papal court and from outside by the power invested in influential families and by popular uprisings. Yet, in his struggle to assert Rome as his seat of power and to

gain the support of the Romans, his court inadvertently developed a specific attention toward caring for the many ordinary spaces in Rome as a way to consolidate, at least in part, the security of his rule. What we observe here is the deliberate political role that space took on, and also a rather different understanding of the category of magnificence and its relation to Rome's citizens. Admittedly, Eugenius' works were rather minor, yet his importance lies in his having turned to the caring of the space of the city as a vehicle by which to consolidate his temporal power. I hope to show that this somewhat humble beginnings in the reformulation and provision of the urban fabric of Rome was central to daily life, and constitutes a novel view of the papacy. Rather than treat Rome as a center of the universal Church and its demands for spiritual obedience, Eugenius recognized that the future of the papacy required the securing of its territorial political status within Italy, within the web of international relations which spread beyond Italy and across Europe. Thus, as Rome had become more clearly a political unit, Eugenius realized that he not only needed to secure the obedience of the city's citizens, he also needed to cultivate their active support for his local temporal power.

Moving from the obscure to the well-known, the second chapter focuses on one of the most referenced figures in architectural historiography, Sixtus V, who ruled from 1585 to 1590. I will trace the various voices which followed Sigfried Giedion's reading of this pope as the "first of modern town planners".⁴⁴ While I take issue with such 'operative' history, as Tafuri has already termed it,⁴⁵ I will offer a new reading of this pope's spatial and architectural legacy. In order to do this I bring to the fore an analysis of the theological dimension of his interventions in the city. In this way, I will analyze the use and transformation of liturgical practices, such as pilgrimages, processions and ceremonial practices, during his rule. We will see how liturgy became a means not only to order the city fabric of Rome, but also to form habits and establish the conduct of those experienced it. I will refer to this novel approach to the ordering of the city as the *spatialization of liturgy*, which we will argue is correlated with the simultaneous centralization of administrative apparatus of government that Sixtus V also promoted. In bringing into question the form in which the theological ground itself through other mediums, we begin to learn more about the coupling between power and space. This form of ordering the space of the city, in this account, is not relevant as regards for the functionality of the connections throughout the city it mobilizes, but as regards for making *experienceable* a practice inseparable from the making of an ethos, conduct and subjectivity. I will argue that not only does the resulting space of the city represent power—it constitutes it. In this way, I will turn again to the question of historiography to contend that the spatial works of Sixtus V were not un-modern: he was simply not *modernist*.

Finally, the third chapter scrutinizes the influence of the court of Pope Urbano VIII whose rule took place within the convoluted context of the Thirty Years' War between 1623 and 1644. This is perhaps the section in which we confront most closely the emerging papal secular practices in their attempt to influence other emerging, competing state forms. As opposed to the preceding chapters,

in which the papal interventions in the space of Rome form the center of our analysis, here instead, we see that, for our purposes, the most relevant role invested in the ‘pope-king’ was that of *facilitator* of a highly affective artistic and theatrical production. In this way, we specifically concentrate on exploring how the different meanings that were historically invested in the notion of *admiratio*—most commonly translated in English as ‘wonder’ or ‘reverence’—converge during this period in the proliferation of theatrical productions throughout the city. That the theater becomes the deliberate site for the cultivation of *admiratio* allows us to speculate on the role that the production of affect would come to play in such a convoluted political period. This was not simply an attempt to bring to life theological narratives on the stage: I argue that it was a means to cultivate desires and passions for them. This was the clearest attempt by the Roman Christian Church to consolidate its temporal power through affective means. It could be said that, through the theatrical evocation of wonder, the Christian Church discovered key mechanisms by which to secure itself with seductive power, recasting its mystical categories in the immediacy of the world of senses. In brief, this form of wonder—*modern* wonder—was arguably the mechanism used by the papal court to produce a desire for power from those seduced by it.

Each chapter is accompanied by a series of illustrative vignettes that attempt either to re-situate the argument beyond the papacy in question, or to provide additional examples to explore other aspects of the argument from a different perspective. In this way, every chapter contains an historical section and sections of conceptual and theoretical speculation. Together, the three chapters compose a genealogy covering the period investigated by Prodi. Yet our means are substantially different, as is the delivery. Chapter One brings to the fore the identification of the profane spaces of the city as a realm in which to deploy papal care. Chapter Two brings to the fore the realm of subjective experience as a new site in which to cultivate security through affective means. Finally, Chapter Three introduces the production of affects as a technique by which not only to harness allegiance, but also to define a subject that is prone to care. Together, the three chapters reveal that the increasing attention given to the realm of spatial experience is discovered as a new ground on which to cultivate “citizen’s love”⁴⁶ as a form of political assertion. Indeed, we depart from Prodi’s history as we try to reassess the means by which architectural history intersects with the affective history of the early modern state.

¹ See for example Jack Shenker's report on the legal ramifications of privatizing public space in London: Shenker, Jack. "Revealed: The Insidious Creep of Pseudo-Public Space in London," July 24, 2017. <http://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/jul/24/revealed-pseudo-public-space-pops-london-investigation-map>.

² See for example Easterling, Keller. *Enduring Innocence: Global Architecture and Its Political Masquerades*. MIT Press, 2005. Martin, Reinhold. *The Organizational Complex: Architecture, Media, and Corporate Space*. MIT Press, 2005. Aureli, Pier Vittorio. *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism*. Princeton Architectural Press, 2008. See also the recent writings and events organized by Aureli on labor and subjectivity.

³ For the first instances in which Foucault theorized the notion of biopolitics see especially: Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. The Will to Knowledge, vol 1*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, pp. 142–143. Or, Foucault, M. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–79*. Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

⁴ Wallenstein, Sven-Olov, *Biopolitics and the Emergence of Modern Architecture*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press: Buell Center/FORuM Project, 2009. Aggregate. *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012. Cavalletti, Andrea. *La città biopolitica: mitologie della sicurezza*. B. Mondadori, 2005.

⁵ Michel Foucault referred to this form of writing as a "history of the present". See *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969).

⁶ One crucial exception to this is in the recent work of Douglas Spencer: see Spencer, Douglas. *The Architecture of Neoliberalism: How Contemporary Architecture Became an Instrument of Control and Compliance*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016.

⁷ See the housing projects of the Belgium-based architecture studio DOGMA. For a summary of their practice see: Aureli, P. V., Tattara, M. "Harvard Design Magazine: Production/Reproduction: Housing beyond the Family." <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/41/production-reproduction-housing-beyond-the-family>.

⁸ See the analysis of free trade zones in: Easterling, Keller. *Extrastatecraft: The Power of Infrastructure Space*. Reprint edition. London New York: Verso, 2016.

⁹ Martin, R. *The Organizational Complex*. Op. cit.

¹⁰ Wallenstein, S. *Biopolitics*. Op. cit.

¹¹ Foucault states: "From the seventeenth century 'police' begins to refer to the set of means by which the state's forces can be increased while preserving the state in good order. [...] Police will be the calculation and technique that will make it possible to establish a mobile, yet stable and controllable relationship between the state's internal order and the development of its forces." Later, Foucault, quoting, Von Just states: "Police is the set of laws and regulations that concern the interior of a state, which endeavor to strengthen and increase its power, to make good use of its forces". See Foucault, Michel. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–78*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan: République Française, 2007. pp. 313, 327.

¹² Foucault states: "Generally speaking, what police has to govern, its fundamental object, is [...] men's coexistence with each other". Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 326. See also lecture 13 from April 5, 1978, where Foucault correlates the police with urban objects, insisting that "[...] to police and to urbanize is the same thing". *Ibid.*, p. 337. For a recent historical account of the relation between the city and the calculations of the police, see: Birignani, Cesare. "The Police and the City: Paris, 1660–1750". Doctor of Philosophy. Dissertation. Columbia University, 2013.

¹³ The police were concerned not only with urban objects (roads, bridges, squares, buildings, monuments), but also with public health (through the Bureau of Charity, they overlooked issues such as hygiene and poverty). They were also concerned with the provision of work, the circulation of grain, manufacture, etc. The use of statistics became crucial in order for the state to intervene in all these different areas. According to Foucault, statistics were understood as "the state's knowledge of the state". It could be said that statistics turn the city and its subjects into a knowledgeable field that can be monitored, measured, and intervened in. See: Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit. Lectures 12 and 13, pp. 311–358.

¹⁴ See Foucault, M. *The Birth of Biopolitics*. Op. cit. p. 37. "[...] The police state is a government that emerges with administration, that is entirely administrative..." For a full account of its implications, consider the following: Rose, Nikolas S. *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. Free Association Books, 1999. Rose, N. *Inventing Our Selves: Psychology, Power, and Personhood*. Cambridge University Press, 1998. Barry, Andrew, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas S. Rose. *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, and Rationalities of Government*. University of Chicago Press, 1996. For a different interpretation of administration see Giorgio Agamben's genealogy of *oikonomia* the "administration of the house" in Agamben, Giorgio. *The Kingdom and the Glory: For a Theological Genealogy of Economy and Government*. Chicago: Stanford University Press, 2012. pp. 17–52.

¹⁵ The theme of the ruler as pastor of men, according to Foucault, is found in “Egypt, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and above all, of course, in the Hebrews”. Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit. pp. 123-124, 132fn 23,24, 133fn 25.

¹⁶ Foucault, Michel. “Omnes et Singulatim: Towards a Criticism of Political Reason”, in *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*. Edited by Sterling M McMurrin. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1981, pp. 223–254. See also, Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit. pp. 115–253.

¹⁷ Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit. p. 127.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 130

²⁰ See for example Lazzarato, Maurizio. “Beyond Public and Private” in *Beyond Privacy: New Perspectives on the Public and Private Domains*. Seijdel, Jorinde, Liesbeth Melis, and Rudi Laermans, eds. Rotterdam; Amsterdam. NAI Publishers; SKOR, Distributed Art Publishers, 2010. See also, the recent reflections of Michel Feher on pastoral power in his lecture. “The Neoliberal Condition and its Predecessors: Redemption, Fulfilment, Appreciation”, delivered at Goldsmiths University of London, 2013.

²¹ Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit. p. xii.

²² Ibid., pp. 17–52.

²³ For readings of the city in respect to scientific and biological analogies, see the writings of Sir Patrick Geddes (1854–1932). Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 5th ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977. For readings of the modern city privileging the analysis of technology, see: Giedion, Sigfried. *Mechanization Takes Command, a Contribution to Anonymous History*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948. Banham, Reyner. *The Architecture of the Well-tempered Environment*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969. For institutions: Choay, Françoise. *The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century*. First Edition edition. New York: George Braziller, 1969. Frampton, Kenneth. *A Genealogy of Modern Architecture: Comparative Critical Analysis of Built Form*. Edited by Ashley Simone. Zurich: Lars Muller, 2015. For canonical readings of architectural typologies, see: Pevsner, Nikolaus. *A History of Building Types*. Reprint edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979. Vidler, Anthony. *The Third Typology and Other Essays*. Artifice Books on Architecture, 2015.

²⁴ Corbusier, Le. *Towards a New Architecture*. London: Architectural Press, 1946.

²⁵ See for example Martin, Reinhold. *The Art of Inequality: Architecture, Housing, and Real Estate*. Edited by Jacob Moore and Susanne Schindler. New York: The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, 2015.

²⁶ Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit., p. 199.

²⁷ See Michel Foucault’s famous reflections on American neoliberal thinkers, especially economist Gary Becker, who insisted that economic analysis should be extended beyond rational conduct. Foucault, M. *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Op. cit., pp. 267–286.

²⁸ Agamben, Giorgio. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit., p. 255. Schmitt, Carl. *Constitutional Theory*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008, p. 275.

²⁹ Massumi, Brian. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002. And, *Politics of Affect*. Polity, 2015.

³⁰ Anderson, Ben. “Affect and Biopower: Towards a Politics of Life.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37, no. 1 (2012): 28–43. In this regard see also: Thrift, Nigel. *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. London; New York: Routledge, 2008.

³¹ Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos, Andreas. *Spatial Justice: Body, Lawscape, Atmosphere*. London: Routledge, 2015.

³² See for example Jennifer Gabrys’ development of Foucault’s concept of ‘environmentality’ in Gabrys, Jennifer. “Programming Environments: Environmentality and Citizen Sensing in the Smart City.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 32, no. 1 (2014): 30–48.

³³ See: STP, pp. 201–202.

³⁴ Prodi, Paolo. *The Papal Prince. One Body and Two Souls: The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 54. Originally published in Italian as: *Il Sovrano Pontefice. Un Corpo E Due Anime: La Monarchia Papale Nella Prima Età Moderna*. Bologna: Il mulino, 1982.

³⁵ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 54.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 59–79. The discussion of the formation of new administrative posts is perhaps one of the most interesting sections of Prodi's account. In this regard, see specifically the shifting role of the 'cardinal nephew', a position which has resemblances with the contemporary role of a prime minister.

³⁷ According to Prodi's introduction to his work, it belongs to the efforts that began in the 1970s with Wolfgang Reinhard to bring attention to the gap in understanding regarding the practices surrounding the papacy in early modern Europe.

³⁸ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*, Op. cit., p.39.

³⁹ Schmitt, Carl. *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985, p. 36. See as well: Max Weber's thesis on secularization; Hans Blumenberg; Jacob Taubes; Ernst Kantorowicz; Michel Foucault's concept of pastoral power; and more recently the writings of Giorgio Agamben.

⁴⁰ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*, Op.cit., p.40.

⁴¹ For other explorations of Paolo Prodi's argument see: Witte, Arnold. "Architecture and Bureaucracy: The Quirinal As An Expression of Papal Absolutism." In *The Site of Rome: Studies in the Art and Topography of Rome 1400–1750*. Edited by David Ryley Marshall. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2014, pp. 162–177. Or, Wright, A D. *The Early Modern Papacy: From the Council of Trent to the French Revolution, 1564–1789*. Harlow, England; New York: Longman, 2000.

⁴² It could be said that Tafuri developed his ideas on the relation between the state and the papacy as a direct result of Prodi's call. He draws them from his reply to the work of Carroll William Westfall on the subject. Westfall was Prodi's main source. Tafuri's most formal reply came in the form of the introduction to the Italian translation of Westfall's publication in 1984. Because of the date of publication and the direct reference to Prodi, Tafuri's discussion of the subject seems to draw on Prodi's call. See: Westfall, Carroll William. *L'invenzione Della Città: La Strategia Urbana Di Nicolò V E Alberti Nella Roma Del '400*. Introduced by Mafredo Tafuri. Roma: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1984. Or, Tafuri, Manfredo. "Cives Esse Non Licere: The Rome of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti; Elements Toward a Historical Revision." *Harvard Architectural Review*, no. 6, Patronage (1987): 61–76. Or, Tafuri, Manfredo. "Cives Esse Non Licere: The Rome of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti." In *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*. Translated by Daniel Sherer. New Haven; Cambridge, Mass.: Yale University Press; Harvard University, Graduate School of Design, 2006.

⁴³ A crucial clarification is required at this point in respect to my initial remarks. In situating this investigation in a period in which there was no such thing as art (with a capital *a*) and there was no systematic notion of the aesthetic, as Kant would later understand it, I am not attempting to trace a kind of proto-aesthetic in early modern Rome. If there is one thing that might be said to prefigure Kant, it is the insistence that what is really at stake is the effect upon the citizens. At its core, there is an irreducible insistence upon the subjectivity of the citizen and its formation, not only by religion and by princely government, which tries to secure compliance through engagement with the form in which the citizens dwell and experience their surroundings. As such, the research departs not from aesthetic or affective theory but from the intersection of a critical reassessment of architectural historiography and political theory.

⁴⁴ In 1952 Sigfried Giedion published two crucial articles that I believe mark a paradigmatic moment in the architectural historiography of Sixtus V: "Space and the Elements of the Renaissance City", and "Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome". Here, Giedion turns his inquisitive eye towards sixteenth century Rome, to claim that nothing short of the *origins* of town planning can be found there. In 1954, this material became a crucial addition to the third edition of Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture*, leading to a large number of responses from both supporters and critiques of its propositions. Although the immediate importance of these texts was perhaps not so evident in the early 1950s, decades later Giedion's work, and this book in particular, achieved a sort of canonical status. See: Giedion, Sigfried. "Space and the Elements of the Renaissance City." *Magazine of Art* 45, no. 1 (1952): 3–10. Giedion, Sigfried. "Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome." *Architectural Review* 111, no. 3 (1952): 217–226. See also tenth printing (third edition), for the major revision of *Space, Time and Architecture*. Especially note parts II and VI. Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, pp. 55–107, 499–517, 542–615.

⁴⁵ Tafuri, Manfredo. *Theories and History of Architecture*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980, p. 151.

⁴⁶ For a full assessment of this term see the second section of this thesis on Giuseppe Brivio.



ONE

MAGNIFICENCE
The City as a Site of Care

Preamble

I. Eugenius IV: An Incomplete Historiographic Portrait

II. The Becoming of the Pope-King

1431–1434, Papal Power

1434–1440, Space: Processions, Symbols and Territory

1440–1447, Securing Rome: Restoration as a Technique of Care

The Axis of Commerce

Rehabilitation of the Pantheon and its Environs

Linking the Trastevere

III. Magnificence, or the Politics of Restoring the Ordinary

Rome's Two Dimensions in Massaio's Rome

Utilitarian Magnificence

Brivio's Rome: Citizen's Love

In a recent philological investigation of the notion of security, written at a moment in which the term security is as ambiguous as it is pervasive, John Hamilton reminds us that intrinsic to the etymology of security is the provision of care. He explains that security stems from the Latin *securitas*; it has three features: the prefix *sē-*, establishing that which is apart, aside or away from; the ambiguous noun *cura*, which equally refers to care and attention, but also to concern or worry; and the suffix *-tas*, denoting a state of being.¹ Security constitutes itself through care, but paradoxically is also threatened by it. As Hamilton says, “without care there can be no thought of security”.² Hamilton’s understanding of security resonates with the following verses written by Giuseppe Brivio (1378–1457),³ an influential Milanese working for Pope Nicholas V, born Tommaso Parentucelli, ruling from 1447 until 1455:

“I counsel, father, vicar of Christ,
that before fortresses or a single fortress ought to be built for you,
in order that none [of these] may be taken by assault at any Time,
citizen’s love [ought to be built up];
which is more powerful than all standing fortresses,
such that no fortresses are strong enough without love of men
to remain standing all day;
experience shows how steadfast trust and love
stands as an impregnable castle”.⁴

Written in 1453, Brivio’s reflection was a direct response to the conspiracy against Nicholas V in Rome carried out by Stefano Porcari in the same year. Brivio experienced first-hand the attempt by the pope to secure his temporal dominion over Rome, and proposed that security was a question of the cultivation of a subject’s affection toward the sovereign, and not solely an issue of military strength. Security, for Brivio, was not only constituted through military preparedness but relied fundamentally upon the cultivation of the citizen’s love. In a context in which the popes struggled not only to consolidate Rome as their seat of power, but also to come to terms with asserting their temporal power, the idea that the symbolic figure of the pope had to actively cultivate the affection of his people was then as novel as it is common sense for us today.

The aim of this chapter is not to compare the two different contexts, but to introduce this affective bond between subject and power which is at the heart of modern power. There should be no confusion: obviously, Brivio’s advice has nothing to do with a romantic view of ‘citizens’ love’, it is a way to bring attention to a political concern at the heart of early modern power that we see growing only in the subsequent centuries. Brivio’s poem emerged at a point when the papacy had achieved a certain political stability which allowed Nicholas V to be involved in the material constitution of Rome. Paradoxically, the clarity of purpose that Nicholas pursued, and for whom Brivio wrote, does not fully present the complicated situation in which popes from the mid-fifteenth century became more concerned with the material ordering of the world.⁵ That the spiritual office of the pope became ever more engaged with the issue of controlling papal temporal, and thus also spatial, affairs is more

visible in the tumultuous context of Nicholas' predecessor, Pope Eugenius IV, born Gabriello Condulmer (1383–1447), ruling from 1431 to 1447. To understand the full implications of Brivio's words, we need to go back to the times of Eugenius IV, as his papacy established the conditions within which Brivio's advice was solicited, a moment in which caring for subjects became a matter of securing the Papal States. This in itself opens up questions of the politics of the Papal States, and marks a point from which an early modern form of power would discover itself in the exploration of relations between space, architecture and subjectivity. In these chapters, we will see more specifically how these relations are entangled with the production of *magnificence* during the papacy of Eugenius IV. This pursuit of magnificence in respect of papal power in the early modern period is linked to a proto-governmental technique I will call the 'politics of care'.

Much has been said about how magnificence, in the fifteenth century, became a crucial ideal in relation to the manifestation of power⁶, but there has been little exploration of how such a notion might have been instrumental in the emergence of an early form of modern subjectivity. Most treatises on magnificence in the fifteenth century appear as a justification of outward splendor, the product of a shift in the relation toward wealth that dominated the Church of the time, which redeemed expenditure from the realm of vices and sin, elevating it to something that could now be conspicuous⁷. As a category, magnificence took as many shapes as there were struggles at that time, allowing this emerging concept to take on different meanings from that of symbols, self-fashioning, territorial possessions and secular strategies, among others. Magnificence is often understood as referring to a monumental act of patronage, and in this sense is derived from the case of the Medici. Such a perspective not only reduces a rich history to a unique case arising specifically in the Republic of Florence, but its all-too-common association with the monumental prevents us from understanding how other forms of magnificence may have arisen that, while perhaps appearing more silently or in a less obvious way, had the capacity to reach into the social composition of Rome, intertwining its manifestations with the daily activities of the people of Rome.

I will describe magnificence through an examination of the few but crucial building works promoted under the auspices of Eugenius IV. Eugenius began a project of restoring Rome (*Roma Instaurata*) that,⁸ while modest in comparison to his successors, was instrumental in emphasizing the role of space as a key element in the process of establishing and stabilizing a new form of temporal power on the part of the Papal States, a form that is characteristic of that which today we refer to as the state. Eugenius IV's pursuit of magnificence is not so much relevant in terms of its monumentality or representation, as because it sheds light on a form of spatial intervention that addresses the people in Rome as subjects who are capable of receptivity, and who, as a result, come to understand their relation to power through an ethos made evident in part through the construction of their surroundings. The magnificence that we can see in Eugenius' work arises as a component of social relations, a product of expenditure the ambitions of which are, as Aristotle's insists in his writings on magnificence, inherently public. While its effects are to cultivate a bond between papal power and its

subjects, it is achieved in part through a relation that is maintained not through awe but through an indirect cultivation of love – and care. As Aristotle wrote, “the pleasure of the eye is the beginning of love,”⁹ or, as we will come to see, the experience of the city slowly arises as the medium for cultivating the subject’s affection.

This chapter will depart from the well-known reading of magnificence in the Florentine Renaissance which dominates architectural historiography, in which palazzi served as competitive displays of personal wealth, turning Florence into what Peter Burke has described as a “land of façades”.¹⁰ Instead, we will move toward an understanding of magnificence that arose in Rome during the first half of the fifteenth century, at a moment when pasture land occupied most of the Rome we know today – a city that was depopulated and in the hands of the feudal power of the Roman barons, the privileged families whose power was felt largely throughout the city. We will move to a Rome in which the papacy began to discover the potential of the city’s material fabric, with a reassessment of antiquity and of the requirements of their subjects, all the while struggling to assert its temporal power in the battle between the Roman barons and the commune. While not dismissing that internal struggle for power in Rome, I will focus on the early effort by the papacy to consolidate the city as its temporal seat of power. I will examine an early instrumentalization of the space of Rome, in which that space presents itself as a medium in which a new set of practices of temporal power can be asserted. I will argue that this assertion of power in space marked the beginning of a wider transformation of papal power that occurred over the next two centuries. It is not by accident that this history is also the point of departure for historian Paolo Prodi in his examination of the transformation of the secular practices of the Papal Curia, which are introduced as a paradigm of the early modern state.¹¹

One intention is to extend Prodi’s argument into architectural history, and vice-versa. On the one hand, this chapter will argue for the recognition of spatial interventions as part of the practices of the early modern state. While Prodi focuses on the chaotic development of administrative practices and the restructuring of Papal Curia, here the focus is on the role of space in stabilizing these transformations, precisely because it is in this space that the actions of the papacy are experienced by the Roman people. On the other hand, by doing so this chapter is also an attempt to explore architectural interventions that can be understood politically not in terms of representation but as forms which mediate the relation between power and subjectivity. It is an attempt to understand architecture as a medium of conduct. It is in this way that I will argue that the space of the city becomes a medium in which what I will call a ‘politics of care’ can unfold. By exploring a ‘politics of care’, I conclude that magnificence, in addition to expressing a new relation toward wealth, as many, following Aristotle, have reflected upon, also expresses a new relation toward the security of the state – a form of security which is not constituted by force but is promulgated by care. As we will see, through a reading of Hamilton’s recent investigation of the shifting connotations of security, at the heart of this concept lies the crucial notion of care. Drawing upon Hamilton, security is, it can be said, first and foremost a concern with the subject’s care. This, I will argue, is at the heart of the public

spirit of expenditure that unfolds as magnificence. Magnificence has to do not only with conspicuous expense but also with the *visibility of care*. Magnificence, with Eugenius, arises more prominently as an emerging practice of security of the temporal state based on the procurement of the subject's care, and less as the conspicuously style that art historians have identified in the ornamental use of lavish expenditure.¹² State security, it can be said, is here not founded upon a social contract, nor upon force, but rather emerges from the provision of care through spatial interventions.

For those familiar with the context of 'papal urbanism',¹³ to use Charles Burroughs' term to define the papal ordering of Renaissance Rome, it might be surprising to find that the main character in this investigation is Eugenius IV, as opposed to his successor Nicholas V, whose reflections on magnificence and the role of the city are well documented. Nicholas set in motion a building campaign in his pursuit of magnificence to communicate the temporal greatness of the Church to his subjects. Nicholas, a close confidant of Eugenius IV,¹⁴ not only succeeded Eugenius to the papal throne, but also inherited his ambitions. Many scholars, ranging from Paolo Prodi to architectural theorist Manfredo Tafuri, have presented Nicholas V as a paradigm of the changes that captured the period from the mid-fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries.¹⁵ Nicholas V was not only a great patron of city works, he also became known as the first 'Renaissance' pope, as is presented in the architectural history of Carroll William Westfall.¹⁶ Part of Nicholas' strategy of exercising temporal power was the use of architectural works as monumental "bibles for the illiterate"¹⁷ (*Biblia pauperum*), to recall Tafuri's reflections. While Nicholas' role in the history of Rome is clear, his particular pursuit of magnificence does not itself move beyond an understanding of the category as referring to the politics of expenditure. While such a reading bears closely on the subject of the search for symbolic power, this chapter attempts to understand a form of government that begins to attend to the space in which the subjects dwell as a medium to procure papal care.

In the modest attempt of Eugenius IV to restore Rome, the most important market squares in the city were paved, important buildings were cleaned, crucial streets were paved, commercial establishments were regularized, bridges and churches were repaired, the university was given a permanent place, and institutions concerned with maintaining order and the finances of the commune fell under the pope's authority.¹⁸ During Eugenius IV rule there was no attempt to construct a new Rome on the scale and with the outward glorification attempted by Nicholas V, remembered for his mobilization of the development of the Borgo Leonino – what today we know as the Vatican. Nicholas V was also the patron of other works which could be categorized as more 'utilitarian' – something on a par with the work of Eugenius.¹⁹ As in the case of Eugenius, these works have received less attention. Could it be that we lack a form of understanding of the political dimension of magnificence in articulating social relations in forms that operate beyond the monumental? Eugenius, it can be said, lacked the ex-novo monumentality of the acts that have captured attention in relation to Nicholas. But instead, and perhaps unavoidably, Eugenius' acts in the city force us to reorient our reading of magnificence, to interrogate the wider role of space in the cultivation of an increasingly crucial form of temporal power

—a politics of care—that the papacy was to assert from this period onward. By reorienting our reading of magnificence away from the monumental, what emerges is a form of interventions concerned, albeit somewhat circumstantially, with creating environments of care in which the populace could begin to experience the acts of a new form of temporal government.

Crucial and specific to Eugenius IV was not only his longing for Rome while in forced exile for most of his rule, but also his struggle to come to terms with his temporal power. He is most commonly remembered for his effort to consolidate the universal power of the Church and to unify it with the eastern patriarchs (Greek, Armenians and Copts). In brief, he attended to his spiritual calling more closely than he did to his temporal power.²⁰ However, this is not a sign of his lack of temporal activities in Rome: even from exile, he never ceased to care for Rome. With Eugenius' spiritual leaning in mind, what emerges from this investigation is a reading of secular stately practices which are not necessarily new in form but that arise from the reworking of religious commands. By reading magnificence as a technique of early modern statecraft, we will see how, from the mid-fifteenth century, this same notion denotes an inversion of its theological connotation. In other words, the account provided by Eugenius emerges as the secularization of theological principles. It could be said that his secular interventions in the city became a mark of his transformation of theological principles into strategies of conduct of the everyday. In this way, the building works in Rome under his auspices begin to add a different dimension to the famous remarks of Carl Schmitt in *Political Theology*, that “[a]ll significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts”—²¹.

Eugenius IV: An Incomplete Historiographic Portrait

The few writers who have written about Pope Eugenius IV, born Gabriello Condulmer, and his rule from 1431 to 1447, reflect a sense of surprise regarding the relative lack of scholarly inquiry into Eugenius' rule. It was not until 1961 that one of Eugenius' first biographers underlined that his place in the history of the papacy was of world-historical importance. In a striking line, Joseph Gill wrote: "[h]ad the Conciliar Movement succeeded [in asserting its supremacy over the papacy], not only Church history but the political history of all nations would have been very different from what it has been."²² Implicit here is Eugenius' participation in the councils, for which he is more generally remembered and for which, paradoxically, he also seems to be disregarded in architectural history. The Council was a crucial Church body that stabilized the Roman Church during the Great Schism that had separated the Church between the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth. The Schism came to an end with the proclamation of the supremacy of the Council of Constance over papal power.²³ Eugenius' success, as Gill noted, consisted in inverting this role, asserting the divine papal right, the absolute supremacy of the pope above all Church bodies—the internal institutions of the Roman Church. This was the result of endless and complex negotiations between Eugenius' court and members of the councils of Basel, Ferrara and Florence.²⁴ Within architectural history, this 'success' has been widely considered a stabilizing factor for the Renaissance popes who succeeded him.²⁵ Yet, in the same accounts, and almost paradoxically, Eugenius' role in stabilizing the conditions of his successors is presented as a matter of only ecclesiastical importance. How are we to situate, then, the geopolitical importance that his biographer seems to assert? What are the secular implications of this 'victory'? And, more importantly, what are the implications of this inversion of power for the rebuilding of Rome?

Some of these questions have been investigated more closely in Paolo Prodi's history of Church–state relations. Writing in 1982, Prodi traced the long and convoluted process of the secularization of the Papal States that took shape, albeit circumstantially, between the mid-fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. In doing so he also constructed a genealogy of early modern state power, and located Eugenius at its outset.²⁶ Prodi's account is important not only because he irrevocably situates Eugenius within the early modern European history of state-building, but also because he sheds light

on the process of the secularization of the Church as having repercussions beyond local histories, and especially beyond ecclesiastical institutions. In Prodi's account, the assertion of spiritual supremacy established by Eugenius IV is related to his temporal power, and to the ratification of the importance of Rome as the capital of the Papal States. In the genealogy of the modern state provided by Prodi, Eugenius is understood as a crucial figure who enabled the extension of sovereign power into the Church matters of the time.²⁷ Not only that, in charting both the restructuring of the hierarchy of the papal court during Eugenius' rule, and his development of administrative practices,²⁸ Prodi argues for an understanding of the period that began with Eugenius IV as being influential in relation to other emerging European states.²⁹ It was a slow and convoluted process, which, as Prodi suggests, "led to State intervention in vital sectors of human existence previously considered to be entirely outside the political sphere".³⁰ This transformation, although it did not come to maturity under Eugenius IV,³¹ would prove crucial to the development of the modern state. Prodi argues:

"It was the popes who, beginning with Eugenius IV and in contrast with their earlier role, strongly contributed to the extension of State control into Church matters in their efforts to overcome conciliar and constitutional-representative tendencies. However, this transition did not occur solely as a result of the papacy's defensive strategy against the challenges of the emerging classes but from the efforts of the papacy and princes together towards the construction of the modern State, though not yet consciously formulated as such. The figure of the pope-king and the new weight of the Papal State have not yet been sufficiently considered in this context. The papacy, rather than being prey to a schizophrenic progress, which on the one hand made it more worldly, transforming the popes into Italian princes, and on the other defended its traditional universalistic spiritual authority, made a constant and determined choice for a fusion of political and religious power; this not only served as a model to the other princes but was in a certain sense proposed and offered through the concordats with the objective of maintaining through mediation between the State and local churches its universalistic function in a political world by now irrevocably polycentric."³²

The difference between Eugenius and previous papal models also fits with other assessments of Eugenius' contribution. Walter Ullmann, writing two decades before Prodi, had already begun to set Eugenius apart from earlier papal practices.³³ Ullmann analyses a crucial bull of 1440 where Eugenius IV, in addressing claims³⁴ by the cardinals regarding their divine right in the share of the power invested in the pope, uses the opportunity to "stress the monarchical status of the pope".³⁵ And yet, although Ullmann's interpretation seems to resonate with the figure of the pope-king advanced by Prodi in regard to Eugenius, their conclusions are rather different. Ullmann considers the increasing politicization of the role of the pope in the fifteenth century as somehow degenerative in regard to its universal papal power.³⁶ Prodi, instead, situates the expression of papal power in a co-relation with its secular practices and institutions for increasing papal civil power, and insists that this transformation of papal power should be sustained in all its geopolitical importance as a sort of model for emerging states and courts.³⁷ Despite the differences in the ways they highlight the growing tendency for absolutist practices in the part of Eugenius, both Ullmann and Prodi seem, nonetheless, to locate him at the threshold of Renaissance transformations of papal power. This is, however, a rather different

picture from that which arises in the relatively few accounts that touch upon Eugenius' contribution to the fabric of Rome.

Eugenius' role in the rebuilding of Rome still remains not only unclear, but also largely insignificant. For example, in reflecting upon the role of Eugenius in the rebuilding of Rome, Carroll William Westfall, in a crucial account of Eugenius' successor, states:

"Eugenius was perhaps too bound by the older conceptions of his role as both head of the Church and as temporal ruler of a large part of Italy to profit from the interpretation that had been formulated in Florence. Alternatively, perhaps he did not consider it necessary to change; perhaps he was less skilled in constructing conceptual structures; or perhaps he was simply less concerned with using literary and visual forms to show that the office of pope had been redefined".³⁸

The architectural understanding of Eugenius arises, most often, in juxtaposition to Nicholas V, who was not only his successor but in fact considered Eugenius to be a close confidant.³⁹ While Eugenius' role in the history of the restoration of Rome is little known, Nicholas takes the main stage. Even Paolo Prodi, who includes Eugenius within his history, nonetheless emphasizes the role of his successor, stating:

"Nicholas V, 'governor, priest, and builder' is not only the *first* pope of the Renaissance, the Maecenas and art lover, but is also the one who, through using his knowledge of the Italian seigneurial system, pursued with hitherto unknown vigor his ideal of constructing a State with a programmed policy which was to be a model for the popes and also for the European sovereigns in the following centuries".⁴⁰

If, in the political history of the early modern state presented by Prodi, Eugenius' role sits more definitively in the foreground of the emergence of that state, within architectural history a rather more ambiguous picture of his role arises in regard to the rebuilding of Renaissance Rome. His potential contribution to the transformation of Rome's fabric is either invisible, dismissed, or made relevant only in relation to the ambitious building works of his successor, Nicholas V. In the crucial account of Nicholas V by Westfall, Eugenius IV is introduced as a sort of enabler of Nicholas V, and yet he is depicted as incapable of renovating Rome. As Westfall states: "although Eugenius had presided when the papacy triumphed and in large part had made it possible to institute a restored papacy on a new conceptual foundation, Nicholas was the first to use that success to display the new eminence of his office".⁴¹ Here we see the acknowledgment of Eugenius as a stabilizer of the assertion of papal primacy. This is reiterated in other architectural accounts of Nicholas V, such as that of Manfredo Tafuri, who, in 1984, introduced the Italian translation of Westfall's account of Nicholas V.⁴² Tafuri emphasized the importance of Eugenius' *Laetentur Coeli* decree of 1439, a document which has been referred to as the "magna carta of papal restoration",⁴³ which consolidated the efforts of Eugenius to establish, once and for all, the hierarchy of the pope over the ecumenical council.⁴⁴ While Tafuri's account situates the historical moment by which Eugenius IV enabled Nicholas V, he makes no mention of any significant spatial interventions executed under Eugenius' auspices.

Tafari's contribution to this historiographical debate is that he shifted the discussion from Nicholas V's specific projects to an analysis instead of the longer and more complex relation between the papacy and the power of the Roman commune. Historically, the commune held power over local affairs in Rome: it was in charge of a diversity of practical affairs, from the management of the city's treasury to the regulation of the streets. However, ever since the return of the popes from Avignon, first with Pope Martin V, born Otto Colonna (ruled 1417–1431), Eugenius' predecessor—crucial institutions previously under municipal authority were subordinated to the direct control of papal power. This was an unprecedented event. The crucial example here that can be seen as a sign of continuity between the fifteenth-century popes is the *maestri di strade*—the institution for the maintenance of the streets and the regulations of Rome, which was reinstated by Martin V's *Etsi de cunctarum* bull of 1425.⁴⁵ This institution drew upon a long tradition of communal government in Rome, by which officials since the mid-fourteenth century regulated not only to Rome's streets, but also to fountains, bridges, aqueducts, hygiene, decorum, etc. Its role lay between administration of, and monitoring the decorum of, the city. However, what radically changes after Martin V's bull is the direct engagement of the pope with this office. Instead of appearing as subordinated to a communal authority, the *maestri di strade* was subordinated to the pope himself.⁴⁶

Charles Burroughs, writing in 1990, suggests that this newly reformed relation between papal administration and the commune put in place by Eugenius remained one of the clearest indications of continuity between himself and Nicholas.⁴⁷ Burroughs highlights the specific importance of an agreement reached in 1446 between Eugenius and the commune, under which the rights of the *signore* in the communal affairs of Rome were specified. Westfall acknowledges the role of Eugenius in defining the agenda for Nicholas, but of Eugenius' spatial contribution we can infer little from his account.⁴⁸ Tafari, drawing on Prodi's *Papal Prince*, insists that the agreement reached between the papal power and the commune was nothing but a gesture by which the commune could be kept in check, and by which could be concealed a more radical and unprecedented agenda that would begin to redefine Rome as both “the capital of an absolutist state *in statu nascendi*” and as “the symbolic focal point of the *res publica Christiana*”.⁴⁹ Burroughs' reading of Nicholas' program opens up a history in which the different papal regimes overlapped. However, in architectural historiography the distance between them is more often emphasized. In this juxtaposition of Eugenius IV and Nicholas V, what matters is not so much a question of origins, but our understanding of the impact that Eugenius' ecclesiastical ‘victory’ had in the reordering of Rome. By asserting the primacy of the papacy over its ecclesiastical institutions, Eugenius IV unleashed, albeit indirectly, a series of transformations that came to affect not only the internal aims and life of the Christian Church, but also its relation toward the faithful. Papal power became ever more interested in the affairs of the populace, in the organization and activities of the Roman commune, and in the form in which Rome represented the magnificence of the papacy.

While the history of fifteenth-century Rome provided by Prodi, Burroughs, Tafuri and Westfall has done much to uncover the wider context of which Eugenius forms a part, there is still little understanding of whether the changes that Eugenius made at a political level had any spatial component. Without investigating the latter, we risk perpetuating an architectural history of this period that still bears the seal of a nineteenth-century reading of the quattrocento. The picture that arose of this period in the art-historical accounts of the nineteenth century had little room for the cryptic and tumultuous figure of Eugenius. Instead, the role of Nicholas V was continuously emphasized. Jacob Burckhardt, writing in his *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, in 1860, rarely refers to Eugenius IV, emphasizing instead the role of Nicholas V, situating the latter at the outset of a “new monumental spirit which was distinctive of the age of the Renaissance”.⁵⁰ Typical of Burckhardt’s historical methodology, is his description of Nicholas as “the very pope who had done most for the prosperity of [Rome]”.⁵¹ Similarly, in the historical account of the papacy by Ludwig von Pastor,⁵² von Pastor suggests that “there was every reason to draw a sharp aesthetic boundary-line between the earlier pontiffs and the ‘first Renaissance pope’ [Nicholas V]”.⁵³ In 1880 a contemporary of both von Pastor and Burckhardt, Georg Dehio, went further, not only by emphasizing this distinction between Nicholas V and his predecessors, but also aligning Nicholas’ project with humanist concerns – especially those of Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472).⁵⁴ Eugenius, it seems, was to have no place in a history understood through the apparent continuities between architectural monumentalism and categories like ‘the Renaissance’. Eugenius fails to provide a clear picture that is fitted to a style or periodization. It can be said that if Nicholas V provides the stylistic clarity that will define his role at the outset of the Renaissance, Eugenius, as understood through his decrees, provided the legal framework. Yet, this framework, and its influences, has so far failed to be adequately understood in art-historical accounts.

During the first half of the twentieth century, interest in the history of the quattrocento, categorized in the nineteenth century as the ‘Renaissance’, occupied the background of architectural discourse and its domination by modernist rejections of historical models. It was only in the post-war context that the role of Rome in the Renaissance slowly came into the foreground. Crucial here was the reassessment of the relevance of that *history* to the modern city, which increasingly occupied the interest of crucial members of the CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) during the post-war period. It was especially the role of the General Secretary of the group, the historian Sigfried Giedion, who, during the early 1950s traced the ‘origins’ of what we know today as the modern project back to the Renaissance, to Rome, and to the role of several of the popes.⁵⁵ Through Giedion’s work, the importance of architectural history returned to a wider debate. Curiously, the importance of history reemerge from the same group that initially would have rejected it. This history is best captured in the largely revised third edition of Giedion’s popular *Space, Time and Architecture*, of 1954.⁵⁶ It was then that history was emphasized, not only to legitimize the modern project, but arguably also to legitimize the study of Renaissance architectural history. In Giedion’s cursory reading of 1954, the emphasis now took a pronounced shift, from Nicholas V to Sixtus V, the pope who would

be known for his campaign for a reconstruction of Rome on great proportions. In Giedion's hands Sixtus V now became "the first modern town planner".⁵⁷ In this historiographic debate, Westfall's account of Nicholas V was crucial because it provided a detailed historical narrative, which Giedion reduced: Giedion considered Nicholas V simply as "struck with the idea of creating in [*Borgo Nuovo*, the Vatican] a huge isolated and impressive ecclesiastical residence".⁵⁸ Westfall's account also suggested another 'origin', similar to that provided in the nineteenth century by Dehio. In Westfall's account, Nicholas' collaboration with Alberti is emphasized. Alberti is presented as a sort of "father of modern urbanism".⁵⁹

In this history that was interested in naming firsts, fathers and origins, there was again no place for the subtle complexities presented by Eugenius. At the intersection of Giedion's and Westfall's narratives, Tafuri provided a way forward. His reading of both accounts is revealing and destabilizes a history that is interested in pointing to consistencies between the origins and the zeitgeist of periods. On the one hand, writing 'operative criticism' in 1968, Tafuri reacts to Giedion's *operative* reading of history, and especially to his narrative of Sixtus V. Tafuri presents this as an example of the reduction of history in confirming the modernist *project*.⁶⁰ On the other hand, while Tafuri praises Westfall's rigorous scholarship, he does not entirely support Westfall's conclusions. If central to Westfall's argument was the alignment of the ideas of Nicholas V and Alberti, in which Alberti is portrayed as a critical advisor for Nicholas' monumental plan for Rome, Tafuri saw little evidence to support their allegiance. Instead, Tafuri problematized the role of Alberti, whom he presents as becoming disenchanted with the form in which Nicholas V pursued his magnificence.⁶¹ Tafuri argued that Alberti condemn magnificence.⁶² This crucial clarification by Tafuri not only opens up the period to wider scrutiny, but it also brings attention to the possibility of discussing other forms of magnificence than that pursued by Nicholas V.

This is the context in which I believe an analysis of Eugenius' papacy could be crucial. What all of these accounts seem to miss is the close relation of Eugenius with humanist thought. The same Alberti who was proclaimed as the 'father of modern urbanism' by Giedion acted as Eugenius' papal abbreviator—the term given to the writer of official documents—until 1437: a crucial post which would have required an intimate rapport between the pope and himself.⁶³ Furthermore, other humanists who began studying Rome in a more systematic manner were also part of Eugenius' papal court: for example, Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), who was papal secretary from 1423 to 1453, and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) who served as papal secretariat from 1434 until his death, with only a minor interruption.⁶⁴ As Elizabeth McCahill has suggested, in a recent account, Eugenius gave protection and liberty to humanist thinking at a time when their role was not clearly defined. In fact, McCahill argues that it was at this moment that humanism achieved the status of a sort of avant-garde intellectual movement,⁶⁵ with the support of Eugenius.

Recent scholarship on Eugenius has begun to provide a clearer picture regarding his humanist inclinations in the rebuilding of Rome. McCahill situates the role of Eugenius IV as operating in a “liminal” historical zone—⁶⁶in the threshold between the medieval and the Renaissance construction of the world. While the role of Eugenius in political history seems to be more clearly situated in relation to the early modern history of the state, his intervention in Rome’s material and spatial transformation seems to resist historical elaboration. It is crucial to remember that Eugenius’ best known contribution to Rome is that which occurred during the first years of his rule: the commissioning of the central door for Saint Peter’s Basilica, the *Porta Argentea*.⁶⁷ The door was designed by Antonio di Pietro Averlino Filarete,⁶⁸ and has been commonly analyzed as having “deliberate reinterpretations of an earlier medieval style”.⁶⁹ The emphasis on this element inscribes a reading in which Eugenius’ role as a sort of cultural reformer was either non-existent, or was ‘medieval’ in nature.⁷⁰ Other readings emphasize that Eugenius’ victory over the Council was related to spiritual reform, rather than any secular or earthly demands.⁷¹ Little attention has been given to the works Eugenius commissioned toward the end of his pontificate, which differ radically in scope and scale from the door. Take, for example, Eugenius’ interventions in the regularization of two crucial market squares at the time: Campo dei Fiori and Piazza Santa Maria della Rotonda—what we know today as the Pantheon. Charles Burroughs reminds us that the importance of these works would have involved situating the contribution of Eugenius IV within those Renaissance popes that were concerned with the ordering of Rome through the activities of the *maestri delle strade*—the institution responsible for the maintenance of the streets and the regulation of Rome, which, since Martin V, had fallen increasingly under the control of the papal power, departing from its historical position as a municipal authority.⁷² We therefore seem to face a rather incomplete architectural history regarding the role of Eugenius IV. On the one hand, in favoring a reading of the door Eugenius commissioned, Eugenius could be easily dismissed, on the grounds that his role was bound to his spiritual objectives and had no wider effects on the overall restructuring of order in Rome. On the other hand, those works that seem to accord closely with the obsession with the regularization of squares that marked much of the subsequent transformation of Renaissance Rome, seem to have been largely dismissed by architectural scholars.

We have inherited a partial reading of Eugenius IV. On the one hand, the political effects of his ecclesiastical contributions are recognized in the history of modern state power by Prodi, and in the histories of the ecumenical councils in which he defined the internal organization of the Church for his successors.⁷³ On the other hand, architectural historiography shows two tendencies in respect to Eugenius: one that focuses on his religious commissions, such as the *Porta Argentea*, and another in which Eugenius appears as an enabler of subsequent spatial projects, by providing the legal framework that governed the relations between the commune and the papal administration. His influence in the ordering of Rome during his last years appears to have little relevance in the current architectural historiography. While it is true that Eugenius’ small interventions during his last years (1440 to 1447) appear fragmentary, dispersed and irreducible to a single architectural drawing—

evidence that normally sparks the interest of architectural scholars—perhaps it is also true that a reading of his later works could provide a rather different understanding of the city. Such a reading could not be based on the consideration of a single monumental building or captured in a fetishized spatial diagram, but its importance perhaps lies almost in the seamless disappearance of the intervention itself. Little is known about Eugenius’ interventions during his last years, but it is curious how, in their very resistance to being captured in a single drawing, they seem to be revealed as interwoven with the daily activities of the city.

Architectural history has often given attention only to single objects of study, or has reduced history to a ‘paradigmatic’ moment. In doing so, it has also predefined the type of power relations that such a history can observe. It is time to look beyond such a perspective. In other words, in looking at the city of Rome, we will turn our attention beyond objects which represents a certain set of power relations , in order to shed light on other forms of power relations that are at the heart of the transformation of the ordering of the city. While a reading of history that privileges a single object perhaps lends itself more easily to its analysis and categorization within tropes such as ‘modern’, ‘medieval’, ‘Renaissance’, or the like, it also nevertheless misses the possibility of understanding cases that resist such categorization. The aim here is of course not to reinforce a nineteenth-century reading of history, as marked by well-defined periods, origins and historical spirits. Instead, the intention is to attend to the power relations that are perhaps operating more in a subtle manner– the liminal zone that architectural historians, at times, tend to overlook.

II

The Becoming of the Pope-King

It is not only architectural history that, in its depiction of Renaissance Rome, has failed to capture Eugenius' secular contribution: Eugenius himself also seemed to have regretted having contributed to the secular affairs invested in his post. This feeling seems to have marked Eugenius' last words. As recounted by the Florentine Vespasian da Bisticci, Pope Eugenius IV, born Gabriello Condulmer, reflecting to himself, stated: "O Gabriello, how much better it would have been for the health of thy soul if you had'st never been Pope nor Cardinal, but had'st died a friar!"⁷⁴ On the one hand, his last words seem to idealize the isolated life of a monk, but, on the other hand, it exposes the inevitability of becoming involved political actions during his tumultuous and unstable papacy. We can only speculate that his lament emerged from the increasing departure from the spiritual life he had enjoyed in his formative years at the monastery. Perhaps more than a specific sense of regret for a certain aspect of his rule, his last words seem to reveal a longing for the separation of spiritual concerns from those that are political—an idealized image of the dual powers invested in the pope which, in the end, did not seem to remain true for Eugenius IV. Indeed, the boundary he imagined separated spiritual and temporal matters eroded during his papacy, making the two spheres almost indistinguishable from one another. Eugenius' rather paradoxical life is best captured by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later pope Pius II, who summarized his life after his passing as follows.

"With difficulty will you find a Pontiff who has experienced both success and failure on a large scale. He convoked a council and dissolved it; he waged very many wars—he won and he lost; he endured a sentence of deposition passed in the name of a council; he deposed his reposers. He had an adversary and a rival in the papacy. Neutrality raised its head in his pontificate, and innovation hitherto unknown. He lost Germany and regained it. The Greeks he brought back into union; to the Copts seeking the Gospel he gave a standard of faith. He directed a fleet against the Turks and with Julian as his legate built up a force against the Hussites. The Emperor Sigismund he first attacked and then crowned. Archbishops and bishops were deprived of their rank; even cardinals and Electors of the Empire were not left immune. He canonized St. Nicholas of Tolentino. In Rome he was made a prisoner; he escaped; he returned. He lost and regained the March. When Brachia of Montone was in the field, he excommunicated him; when dead, he absolved him. He exalted John Vitelleschi; Vitelleschi, later his prisoner, died in chains. He regained Bologna and he lost it. He was enemy of the King of Aragon and later he settled a kingdom on him. He was earlier the friend of the Venetians; then he was held by them in suspicion. He was a man of great heart. But there was no greater defect in him than that he lacked moderation and essayed to do, not what he could, but what he wanted".⁷⁵

Piccolomini grasps the contradictory nature of Eugenius' papacy, shaped by territorial alliances, wars, internal debates within the Church, dynastic struggles, and the increasing awareness of people with papal decisions. This picture fits with the double role presented by Prodi, in which popes had begun to act not only as the spiritual heads of the Church, but also as temporal sovereigns—as both pope and king. His decisions, whether originating from spiritual or secular affairs, became indistinguishable from one another, giving rise to the portrait of an interweaving of two personalities in a single figure. Piccolomini's words served as a summary report on Eugenius' works to his successor Nicholas V. Brief and succinct though it was, Piccolomini was also dismissive of the decisions that marked Eugenius' papacy. This is, however, not surprising. For a long time, Piccolomini had been a supporter of the members of the Council who rejected Eugenius as pope, and who had appointed Felix V as a new antipope—whom Piccolomini served closely. His relation to Eugenius was just as paradoxical as the general tone that marks his above description. Piccolomini constantly emphasizes the contradictory nature of Eugenius' decisions and defeats. The tone is clear from Piccolomini's introduction of Eugenius' rule as being marked by simultaneous success and failures. Or take for example the reference to John Vitelleschi, the man whom Eugenius appointed as pope-chamberlain, effectively the ruler of the lands of the Church. Piccolomini stated: "He exalted John Vitelleschi; Vitelleschi, later his prisoner, died in chains". Vitelleschi served Eugenius by bringing order to Rome while he was in exile. His methods were known to be violent but were welcomed in general by Romans. However, in a turn of political events, Eugenius dismissed him. Plenty of examples in this brief account undermine Eugenius. Nonetheless, Piccolomini's broad portrait of Eugenius' rule as being marked by circumstance, compromise and contrast was for the most part correct. However, it does little to help us articulate the effect of these broad struggles in relation to Eugenius' rapport with Rome.

Just like his predecessor, Pope Martin V, born Otto Colonna, who ruled from 1417 to 1431, Eugenius contributed to the permanent establishment of the papacy in Rome, which was stipulated in the Council of Constance, which brought to an end the Great Schism and restored the power of the popes. However, to secure the position of the papacy in Rome, Eugenius faced the intertwined contradictions of the non-dynastic power of the papacies, and the power in Rome of the Roman barons. As soon as Eugenius took power, he rejected the path of continuing the policies of his predecessor, and he struggled to situate his role in relation to the most influential families in Rome, the Roman barons. More specifically, Eugenius refused to continue the privileges granted by his predecessor to several influential families in Rome. This caused him to experience considerable friction, especially with the Orsini and Colonna family, which now tried to undermine the authority of the pope in Rome. Although a truce was established, the conflict was never resolved. In fact, it is believed that in 1434 the Colonna backed a republican uprising,⁷⁶ which arguably led to the event from which we can begin to reassess Eugenius' relation to Rome: his forced exile from Rome. As recorded by Piccolomini, as a result of this event Eugenius "was made a prisoner; he escaped; he returned."⁷⁷ The uprising marked the beginning of Eugenius' long sojourn in Florence, where he found refuge and a space in which to

resolve the conflicts that threatened his supremacy. It was only nine years later that he managed to return to Rome. This may be yet another reason why many have dismissed his role in Rome.

It is curious how, when credit is given to Eugenius IV in architectural historiography, it tends to do so in a reductive way, highlighting his role in *restoring* the churches of Rome and maintaining their use, or his role in *restoring* the traditional image of the Roman Christian Church, symbolized in the famous Filarete door of St. Peter's Church.⁷⁸ However, one wonders if, in the Rome of Eugenius, which was characterized by depopulation⁷⁹ and decay, these apparently minor acts of restoration might be considered more significant than they have generally been perceived to be. Below, we will expand the picture of Eugenius' interventions to incorporate those architectural and urban works that have not yet been considered by architectural history. However, the aim is not only to list Eugenius' interventions as that alone will tell us nothing of Eugenius' contribution to architectural knowledge if we do not also elaborate the meaning that *restoration* would have had at the time. My analysis is not only an attempt to complete the picture of an apparently inconsequential figure, but to re-situate Eugenius' acts of restoration as political acts in themselves. 'Restoration', in the context of fifteenth-century Rome, we will see, was not simply an obligatory or even inconsequential act of maintenance: rather, it involved a selective interpretation of the conditions of the city, of its past, and of the needs of the citizens in the present. In the context of Eugenius' rule, I will argue that to restore was also a strategic form of subversion similar to that of a magnificent act, as we will come to see. And yet, we will see that, although perhaps contradictory at first, the restoration campaign that Eugenius led in Rome, which became clearer in his last years (roughly between 1440 and 1447), was not monumental but strategic. Instead of focusing on the monumental objects, Eugenius restored gathering spaces—squares, streets, markets—spatial ensembles in which daily activities were also strategically 'restored'. Perhaps Eugenius' contribution presents a form of magnificence that does not operate through the monumental—the monumentalism with which Alberti grew disenchanted—⁸⁰ but rather which operates at the level of ordinary life. Because, perhaps, it is not only through the lavish objects of contemplation that relations of magnificence can be articulated: the distribution of spatial strategies of restoration throughout the city allowed Eugenius' sovereign power to be honored not for that which it *represented* but for the way in which it established *relations of care*.

It is impossible to assess Eugenius' relation with Rome without highlighting his forced departure from the city. This event, which distanced him from Rome for almost a decade did not, however, end his concerns for the affairs of the city. Despite the uncertainty regarding his homecoming, Eugenius arguably never ceased to care for Rome. While commanding from Florence, as we will see below, he procured funds for city works,⁸¹ he appointed caretakers to act on his behalf⁸² and he dictated bulls which directly affected the city's fabric.⁸³ Nevertheless, his absence from Rome radically transformed the form by which he intervened in the city. From the moment he left Rome, what we see taking shape in Eugenius' commands is an increasing effort to develop a set of secular practices of government to supplement his spiritual power. His removal, as we will see, revealed to him the political stakes

involved in upholding the papacy, and he quickly came to understand that for the papacy to survive in its modern revival, amidst a host of other emerging princely and dynastic powers, it had to adopt a more political presence. Increasingly, Eugenius' interventions in Rome shifted from his initial commissioning of religious symbolic works, such as the Filarete door, to ever more public interventions, such as the regularization of streets and squares. In addition to his increasingly political demeanor as pope, we will also bear witness to another shift: as his architectural and spatial interventions become more secular in nature, his politics also found fertile ground in the transformation of the space of the city. What appears to be a set of circumstantial and fragmentary actions and reactions, I will argue, is something that set the stage for papacies to come.

In what follows I do not attempt a comprehensive history of Eugenius' interventions in Rome. Indeed, it may be impossible to provide such a history.⁸⁴ Most of Eugenius' works have either been superseded or dismantled, or else are not properly documented. Those that remain, such as the door, have been clearly investigated, making any historical investigation into his papacy a mixed one. The historical analysis provided here is only interested in tracing the correlation between Eugenius' spatial and architectural interventions in Rome and the tendency in his papacy toward a secular politics. This trajectory will be articulated in three clear moments. The first focuses on Eugenius' confrontation with his papal power, from the moment of his election in 1431 to his forced departure from Rome in 1434. The second episode expands on his attempt to secure his power with both symbolic means and territorial gains in the period following his papal activities while in Florence, punctuated in 1440 with the appointment of a new papal chamberlain,⁸⁵ whose main task was to maintain public order in Rome while Eugenius was residing in Florence. The third and final episode, from 1440 to Eugenius' passing in 1447, includes his return to Rome in 1443, and sees the rise of a concerted set of spatial practices deployed in Rome that I describe as *restoration*, which, I will show, correspond less to practices of repair or recovery of the ancient city, than to a wholly new way of securing papal power.

1431–1434, Papal Power

Even before Eugenius took power, he signed an agreement with those cardinals who formed part of the conclave that eventually selected him in which the direction his papacy was to take during his first years was already suggested. The agreement, which was signed on March 3, 1431, marked the importance to safeguard the rights of the Sacred College of Cardinals, which had been undermined by Eugenius' predecessor, Martin V.⁸⁶ This plea underlay the desire of the cardinals to suppress the nepotistic privileges that Martin V had granted to his own family, the Colonna.⁸⁷ Indeed, from the day of his coronation on March 12, 1431, Eugenius began to undermine not only the Colonna but also the privileges of the feudal structure of power in Rome. This set in motion a rather unstable relation between Eugenius and Rome.

On the other hand, an ecumenical Council in Basle (1431–1439), originally scheduled by Martin V to discuss Church reform, the fight against Hussites' heresy and the reconciliation among Christina Princes,⁸⁸ was at first underestimated by Eugenius, who received reports that interest in the Council meetings was waning.⁸⁹ His interest in the Council of Basle was sparked when the few members that attended the meeting became immersed in a series of convoluted events, such as the war against the Hussites, and began taking decisions without consulting with Eugenius.⁹⁰ Upon hearing the news, Eugenius attempted not only to suppress the Council of Basle, but to destroy their authority.⁹¹ This marked the beginning of a struggle in the hierarchical organization of the Church that would destabilize Eugenius' supremacy for most of his rule. At stake was not only Eugenius' personal standing, but also the supremacy of the papacy as the universal head of the Christian Church.

While Eugenius remained inflexible in negotiating his spiritual supremacy, his interventions in Rome remained rather modest. During his first years as pope, his city works (1431–1434) were largely fragmented and inconsistent, involving a series of minor repairs and a few minor symbolic works which might have appeared rather distant from the concerns of his subjects. Under his direction, the city walls were surveyed⁹² and repaired⁹³ in certain small areas and the conditions of habitation of several churches were improved.⁹⁴ In addition, some minor symbolic ecclesiastical works took place,⁹⁵ such as the maintenance of the Holy Garden at the Vatican and the commissioning of the famous 'Filarete door' in 1433, completed only two years before Eugenius' death in 1445, putting a new face on the old St. Peter's basilica. Other minor repairs to the bridge of Castello S. Angelo were carried out,⁹⁶ as well as minor updates to the Capitol.⁹⁷ These spatial contributions do not provide a full picture of Eugenius' contribution to the fabric of Rome, which would only appear in his last years, as we will see toward the end of this section.

However, what is important to emphasize during this phase is Eugenius' commitment to support the humanities through his crucial support for the permanent establishment of the University of Rome, which was known at the time as *studium urbis*. In his first year in the papacy, Eugenius reinstated the constitution of *studium urbis*, which was originally established by Boniface VII at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁹⁸ Eugenius did this to introduce a series of reforms, which came to define the university for centuries to come. Administratively, Eugenius assumed a more active role in the internal organization of the university.⁹⁹ He appointed a papal chamberlain and a rector, who previously had been elected by the students. Financially, Eugenius secured funds for the university by instituting a wine tax, known as *gabella studii*, which directed all taxes on imported wine to the use of the university. Two years later, Eugenius provided the university with steps toward its permanent location in the heart of the city—San Eustachio—the place it would come to occupy for many centuries.¹⁰⁰ Historian Anna Bedon has suggested that it was Eugenius who, in 1433, donated the first premises on the same block which today is occupied by La Sapienza.¹⁰¹ Curiously, this effort by Eugenius IV to stabilize the university was not of great interest to his immediate successors. Nicholas V was indifferent to the decay of the university buildings¹⁰² and Sixtus IV redirected the funds of the

gabella studii toward his building projects, despite the protections against arbitrary papal expenditure specified in the tax.¹⁰³ Histories of the Renaissance, however, seem to forget this important contribution of Eugenius. This reform was not only suggestive of the centralized institutional reform that would come to characterize papal power in the following two centuries: it is also a reminder that Eugenius was not oblivious to humanist thinking. In fact, the opposite is the case. As Elizabeth McCahill, in a recent investigation of Eugenius' works, argues, while in the "sixteenth century, humanism was to become the intellectual orthodoxy of Europe, in the early Quattrocento it was an avant-garde intellectual movement".¹⁰⁴

While Eugenius demonstrated a great commitment to the humanities, his interventions to Rome did not ameliorate the general state of decay that dominated the city at that time. Eugenius, as the second pope to occupy the seat of Rome since Martin V returned from Avignon, had to demonstrate to the Roman people the repercussions of papal power in Rome. Unlike Martin V, who was originally Roman and had an intrinsic relation to the city,¹⁰⁵ Eugenius was a stranger to its internal affairs. He had come from a Venetian noble family¹⁰⁶ and was known for prioritizing his spiritual life over the temporal prerogatives of his posts.

As pope, not only did Eugenius outwardly dismiss the existing power struggles in Rome between the commune, the papacy and the Roman barons, he also failed to cultivate any kind of broader political hold over the people over whose lives the papacy was once again to rule. His efforts to intervene in Rome were at first fragmentary and inconsistent, and would have done little to provide the populace with a concise image of what it meant to be subject to papal power. In his initial years as pope, Eugenius failed to confront the fact that the populace, perhaps ever since the symbolic uprising of Cola di Rienzo at the end of the fourteenth century,¹⁰⁷ was increasingly aware of its role in the construction of, and reciprocation with, a new form of power. If, in his attempt to re-instate an ancient Roman tribune, Cola di Rienzo had managed to awaken the imagination of the populace by reminding them that it was they who granted power to the emperor and not vice-versa, Eugenius, by contrast, failed to attend to this growing sentiment. Papal power, as it reemerged in the 15th century, would no longer rest on the symbolic power invested in the pope alone: to assert its supremacy the papacy would slowly find itself adopting new, more secular means. This approach soon faced its limits: in 1434 a popular uprising against Eugenius, believed to have been backed by the influential Colonna family,¹⁰⁸ destabilized the papal power, forcing Eugenius to leave Rome and to lead a life, at least temporarily, in exile.

1434–1440, Space: Processions, Symbols and Territory

During his almost nine years' stay in Florence, Eugenius was rarely seen. He confined himself to the enclosure of Santa Maria Novella, where he lived a reclusive life. However within the walls of Santa

Maria Novella, he was surrounded by a circle of influential scholars that included Leon Battista Alberti, Leonardo Bruni, Giannozzo Mannetti, Poggio Bracciolini, Carlo Aretino Marsuppini, Giovanni Aurispa and Tommaso Parentucelli—his future successor in the papacy—among many other humanists.¹⁰⁹ It was only with the completion of Filippo Brunelleschi's Santa Maria del Fiore in 1436 that he found the opportunity to stipulate clearly the terms of his ceremonial appearance in the context of the consecration of the cathedral. The event took place on the 25th of March, the day on which the feast of the Annunciation was celebrated, but also the first day of the Florentine calendar year—fitting both secular and Church agendas in Florence.¹¹⁰ The people of Florence awaited this event, and on the day all resources were mobilized to mark the celebration. Mannetti described the event as “[a] parade of papal magnificence, unparalleled in modern times...”.¹¹¹ Yet its importance for our purposes does not lie in the symbolic nature of the celebration, but instead in the demand for spatial strategies that were required to organize the city on that day. This would have been the first time that Eugenius had intervened in the space of the city on such a scale. Despite the many records that exist of the event, it is difficult to describe Eugenius' specific involvement. However, what is indisputable is that he experienced the potential of the space of the city, the politics of display, and the capacity to orchestrate relations of power through spatial means.¹¹²

For the event, Brunelleschi was commissioned to design an elevated and covered walkway which stretched along the route of the procession from Santa Maria Novella to the cathedral. The 'ponte' was elevated from the ground by around one and a half meters, and spanned about three meters in width.¹¹³ It was ornamented on its sides and covered with sumptuous canopies, which marked its importance even when it was unoccupied. The 'bridge' was described by Vespasian da Bisticci as follows: “built from one church to the other, being hung with draperies of blue and white, the colors of the Pope, and the woodwork which supported these decked with myrtle, laurel, pine and cypress. The hangings stretched from one side to the other and heavy curtains hung all the way between the churches, carpets also and benches on both sides, a sight marvellous to behold”.¹¹⁴ On the day of the procession the people of Florence were organized around this structure. As an elevated object, it divided, ordered and segmented the sections of the city involved in the procession, with a simple yet definitive, and unprecedented, gesture. The place of the populace was clear: they were to surround those in power, while staring up at the papal procession. It was a strategy of separation that included the different fractions of the city. This strategy was simply augmented by the decorum and attire of those that moved along the length of the platform: the parade began with the procession of the secular members of the signoria, then the papal court, and lastly, in the most sumptuous of clothes, the pope. It was a clear example of how the politics of display, aided by a simple architectural structure, could transform the city as a whole. Those taking part in the procession were confronted in their relation to their surroundings. It was a dialectic space, which simultaneously included and excluded: it divided the populace from power while bringing them together in a new, performative and sensual relation.¹¹⁵

While he never repeated such a display again, following this event Eugenius became more attentive to the space and order in Rome as a means of maintaining and bolstering his temporal power. While still in exile, he began commanding a set of works that would allow him to intervene in a program of restoration in the city. His efforts to do so revealed to him that, to restore Rome to its past glory, he would need to extend his project of restoration beyond merely restoring the spaces of the city to restoring its lawful order: it was an initiative that he carried out during these years (1434–1440) not only through architectural means but also with the force of arms.¹¹⁶

To restore such a space was a massive undertaking. In taking his post, Eugenius had inherited a city littered with ruins from antiquity that were all too often used as quarries, and whose decaying churches were pillaged for construction materials. Having limited power, Eugenius realized that his actions, to be effective, would need to be strategically precise. His initial strategy consisted of three parts: enacting a set of laws to preserve the ancient fabric of Rome, imposing laws to repopulate the city, and, lastly, restoring significant churches. In 1436, Eugenius proclaimed a decree which condemned with the penalty of excommunication those who stole the remains from religious edifices.¹¹⁷ In the same year, he also issued a decree calling for the protection of the marble of the Coliseum.¹¹⁸ Yet merely preserving the antiquities of the city when its population was falling— as low as 30,000 during Eugenius’ times—¹¹⁹would have little consequence. Thus, in the following year, Eugenius’ efforts turned to a strategy for repopulating the city, focusing on the Vatican Borgo, which had fallen into ruins.¹²⁰ Between 1437 and 1438, Eugenius funded a broader campaign of repairs across churches and symbolic edifices in Rome. According to Eugène Müntz, among those buildings Eugenius IV repaired were S. Peters, S. G. Laterno, St. M. Maggiore, St. M. Minerva, St. M. Rotonda, St. M. in Trastevere, S. Sebastian, S. Paul, St. Susanna, and the Papal Palace.¹²¹ Together, these acts constituted the clearest expression of his interest in attending to the material remains of antiquity and recovering the symbols of the long lost magnificence Rome had once enjoyed. However, in 1439 Eugenius’ interventions in the city’s fabric came to a momentary standstill, as internal divisions in the ecumenical councils began to see mounting substantial resistance against Eugenius.

The complex picture that arose here was the product of Eugenius’ troubled relations with the ecumenical Council. In 1437 Eugenius attempted to supersede the Council of Basel by transferring it to Ferrara and then to Florence. However, in 1438 the still remaining members of the Council of Basel replied by threatening Eugenius with deposition on June 25, 1439, and although they had little support within the Church they went as far as to elect Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy as pope. He took the name Felix V and ruled from 1439 to 1449, in parallel first to Eugenius and then to his successor Nicholas V. Felix V was the last antipope. This unofficial appointment of Felix V was largely rejected by the Church. However, those rallying against Eugenius, despite having little support from other members within the councils, found support in external allies with personal interests in the Papal States: such an alliance was formed between dissenting members of the Council and the Duke of Milan (Filippo Maria Visconti) in his attempt to take over the Papal States, and between the Council

and Alfonso of Aragon in his insistence to become King of Naples without the consent of the pope.¹²² In response, Eugenius, too, consolidated similar alliances, by aligning himself with the Republic of Florence, the Venetian Republic, and especially with the military support of condottiere Francesco Sforza. The Council, fraught by internal division, threatened not only the power of Eugenius, but also the territorial integrity of the Papal States. The desire for spiritual reform of the Church, upon which the Council was first established, was now to be defined through territorial interests.

The appointment of antipope Felix V, while symbolic of the fractured interests within the Church, only intensified Eugenius IV's wish to reduce the power of the councils. Paradoxically, in the same year that Felix V was appointed, Eugenius IV made agreements, through his active role in the Council of Florence, which ensured the triumph of the supremacy of the pope over the councils. With the bull *Laetentur Coeli* (July 6, 1439), Eugenius, through the Council of Florence, consolidated the unity of the Catholic Church with the Greek, Armenian and Coptic Churches,¹²³ and made a definitive claim that defined, from then on, the role of the pope. The bull "defined that the Pope is the successor of St Peter and the Vicar of Christ, head of the universal Church and father and teacher of all Christians and that in the person of Peter full power was conferred on him by Christ to guide and rule the whole Church"¹²⁴. In pursuing this unity, Eugenius actively sought the support of many European princes whose "only communality was their loyalty to Eugenius in his quarrel with the council of Basel".¹²⁵ On the one hand, Eugenius granted an unprecedented series of promotions in December 1439 to non-curial officials to the level of cardinals, who in turn offered their support against Basle.¹²⁶ On the other hand, Eugenius pursued a new set of territorial allegiances which he sought specifically to obtain military support: he allied with the same Duke of Milan and Alfonso of Aragon¹²⁷ who had campaigned to demote him only a year prior. At the same time, he turned his back on his ally, condottiere Francesco Sforza, as he attempted to take control over the contested areas of the papal territories—especially the March of Ancona.

Eugenius' legitimacy, it seemed, was to be decided not through the purity of spiritual rights to power, but through his success in negotiating alliances.¹²⁸ Here is not the place to consider the details of this complex series of events, but rather to note the growing intertwining of spiritual and secular power, and its spatial repercussions. In brief, if in the previous section of this chapter we highlighted Eugenius' with the secular imperatives of his power, in this section he began not only to use secular means to consolidate the image of his spiritual power but, more importantly, he confronted the potential of space itself in its multiple dimensions: first, through the architecture of the bridge for the consecration of the basilica in Florence, where a simple formal gesture brought to light the potential of organizing urban space, and second, through the increasingly important element of securing and organizing a territory.

1440–1447. Securing Rome: Restoration as a Technique of Power

1440 was a contradictory year for Eugenius. On the one hand, he began to accumulate political ‘victories’ as his struggle against the Council gathered momentum. On the other hand, in 1440 Lorenzo Valla finished his reflections on the Donation of Constantine, arguing that the very document upon which the papacy had claimed its temporal authority for centuries was nothing but a forgery.¹²⁹ As Stuart Elden reminds us: “[t]o challenge papal power in temporal matters more generally through a discrediting of this text would be an effective check”¹³⁰ to the power of the pope and thus would have been seen as such by Eugenius. Yet it was in the midst of these contradictory events that, rather than declaring his defeat, Eugenius seemed to have renewed his interest in establishing his temporal supremacy. For the papacy to remain relevant he was required to act not solely as spiritual head of the Church, but more importantly to act as a temporal sovereign among other sovereigns. During this phase it was by confronting the challenge in spiritual terms that Eugenius came to realize that, to claim temporal supremacy, he would need more than ever to attend more closely not only to his territorial alliances, but also to the needs of the populace of Rome.

From 1440 onward, Eugenius began to build and assert his power within Rome, through institutional changes, a series of new crucial appointments to the *maestri delle strade*, and an acute focus on the maintenance of public order in the city’s spaces. As Magnuson points out: “the 1440s saw a political recovery”¹³¹ in Rome, with population numbers increasing slowly, relatively more political stability”. These conditions anticipated Eugenius’ expected return to Rome—an event made possible in 1443 at a time when the antipope was living in Geneva. It was then that his focus on public order took a rather clear form, as a largely spatial imperative. We begin to see a tendency for the papacy under Eugenius to shore up its power by expanding its power over secular realms of action, but also how a general shift of power brought about by Eugenius’ maneuvers reveal the reworking of the religious as a new strategy for organizing secular life.

Eugenius experienced this shift in the flesh, and his strategies in Rome were a reflection of this. His interventions in the city departed radically from his previous ones, which had focused upon religious edifices and symbolic structures. Now Eugenius, via members of the papal court, turned his attention to the city of Rome, unfolding a program that I would like to refer to as the *restoration of the ordinary*: the effort to restore secular spaces in the city that framed the daily activities of the populace: streets, squares, markets and bridges. These works, arguably beginning in 1440, before Eugenius’ return to Rome, and extending up until his death in 1447, constituted a project that many have overlooked and one that suggests a rather novel instrumentality of space. In examining this phase, we seldom find an ex-novo monumentality of the kind that others have highlighted in his successors, primarily Nicolas V. Instead, Eugenius’ project focused on the restoration of existing spaces and surfaces – and of only a few buildings. His interventions brought about an approach that consisted

simultaneously of regulation and restoration of the fabric of Rome. This was a radical shift in scope and intervention, small as it might appear to us today. For the papal court to intervene in the profane spaces of the city in such a consistent matter was unprecedented. In the pages that follow I will look at three interventions that show this: *the axis of commerce, the rehabilitation of the Pantheon and its environs, and the linking of the Trastevere*. To understand them, I will discuss the context of regulation and restoration.

Regulation was made possible by instrumentalizing the *maestri delle strade*, the office of the commissioners of streets. As was mentioned before, this was an institution, established in the mid-fourteenth century, with a long tradition of communal government but that since 1425, through a bull of Martin V, *Etsi de cunctarum*,¹³² had been supervised under the direct authority of the pope. This paradigmatic decree not only opened up the city to Eugenius' control, but also set the stage for all subsequent popes to shape their rule in parallel to the reshaping of Rome itself, treating the city as a site for the expression of increasingly absolute power. However, when Eugenius intervened the functions of this office were not clear. Broadly speaking, its aim was to oversee and intervene in the city's public order: its remit was something of a blend between administration and maintenance of the city's decorum. The functionaries of this office looked after the cleanliness of streets, the construction of new edifices, and the general maintenance of the city and its decorative elements.¹³³ Despite its broad sphere of intervention, what was crucial was that, since the bull, this office was subsumed under the papal authority. This opened up the possibility for the office to represent the pope's contribution to the welfare of the city, and provided the papal authority with a means by which to assert its power indirectly in the spaces of the city. At the same time, holding control over the *maestri delle strade* yielded great political advantage to the pope, as it was a contested area whose history was attached to the commune: intervening in the affairs of this office must have unsettled the communal government. Thus this office became the site of a political struggle, marking a fine line that Eugenius and all of his successors would be consistently required to negotiate.

What I would refer to as restoration during Eugenius' papal court began to be articulated as an attempt not only to survey the ancient fabric of Rome, but to re-imagine its possibilities. Crucial here was the role of Flavio Biondo of Forlì, a secretary of Eugenius who accompanied him throughout his tumultuous papacy. Biondo provided the first systematic¹³⁴ topographical survey of Rome, under the title *Roma Instaurata*. This provides a rich history of the remains of the Rome of his time, which draws from classical, medieval, epigraphic, numismatic, iconographic and archeological sources.¹³⁵ His account is clearly not a comprehensive description of Rome,¹³⁶ but is instead a strategic reading of the historical fabric of the city. As noted in a recent account by David Karmon, it is crucial the distinction Biondo makes between restoration (*instaurare*) and preservation (*conservare*). Restoration, as Karmon argues, is concerned with the present, even if in the process historical features can be obscured. Preservation, instead, which was used by Biondo very moderately, emphasizes an approach to stabilizing deterioration.¹³⁷ Clearly, Biondo's work was directed at emphasizing the former: the

restoration of Rome. From the dedication of this work to Eugenius and his continuous appointment throughout his tumultuous papacy, we can imagine that while *Roma Instaurata* was not published until 1446, the issue of restoration must have circulated within the papal court earlier on.¹³⁸ In the same way, I believe that Eugenius' attempts to restore Rome were not simply an act of maintenance, but, perhaps aligned with Biondo's approach, were attempts at reconstructing the present using that which was already there. They were acts which required an interpretive approach to the conditions which shaped life in the present. They were acts which, although they did not present themselves with an ex-novo quality, nevertheless had the potential to act on a scale that could be considered acts of magnificence, as described by Aristotle. In other words, I emphasize not strategies of stupefaction, but the capacity of the ordinary spaces of the city to affect political life.

It could be said that this coupling of restoration and regulation began under Eugenius' auspices with a paradigmatic restructuring of power in Rome. First of all, through the controversial replacement of the violent soldier-bishop Cardinal Vitelleschi, who had not only helped Eugenius escape from Rome and settle in Florence, but whose armed forces had also subdued the Roman popular uprising against Eugenius, destabilized the Colonna—the suspected conspirators—and who had led many military campaigns across the Papal States.¹³⁹ While Eugenius' relation to Vitelleschi allowed him for a steady acquisition of wealth¹⁴⁰ and authority, the latter's actions began to alarm the allies of the Papal States. It could be also said that in the change of regime that was about to begin in Rome under Eugenius' auspices, there was no room for Vitelleschi's military tactics. Instead, I would like to suggest that Vitelleschi's replacement marked a paradigmatic shift from the *regime of arms*, to the *regime of care* that Eugenius was about to begin in Rome.

In 1440 Vitelleschi was replaced by the crucial appointment of a new pope-chamberlain, Cardinal Lodovico Trevisan,¹⁴¹ who was to serve “as effective ruler of the lands of the Church ... [Lodovico] showed a particular concern for the condition of Rome, appointing officials with responsibility for the maintenance of public order and the upkeep of the urban environment”.¹⁴² Another crucial appointment followed the year after, directly affecting the *maestri delle strade*: Alessandro Schiacci, a citizen of Rome, became “official guardian of walls, buildings, and public edifices”.¹⁴³ The concerns that motivated these personages departed radically from those of Vitelleschi, bringing with them a renewed and consistent impulse to improve the city's fabric. During the same time, as Westfall reminds us, “Eugenius reduced the position of the barons [the influential families in Rome] and made possible the ascendancy of the cardinals”.¹⁴⁴ Involving the granting of more power to the cardinals in Rome, and crucial appointments affecting the *maestri della strade*, I believe Eugenius' restructuring of power should be seen as a political move to shift his strategy toward Rome. Charles Burroughs has already suggested that the lack of attention to these events might explain the absence of Eugenius from the history of Rome's Renaissance.¹⁴⁵ I will concentrate on three interventions that followed these events, which can help us illustrate the influence and nature of the transformation that began in

Rome. These interventions took place in Rome's most dense *rioni* (districts) at the time: Rione Ponte, Parione and S. Angelo.¹⁴⁶

The Axis of Commerce

To talk about an axis in Rome might bring to mind the obsession with straight streets that became the mark of many Renaissance popes, such as Via della Lungara and Via Giulia under the auspices of Julius II, or Via Pia under Pius IV, or Strada Felice under Sixtus V, among many others. However, the axis we are discussing here is of a rather different nature: it was not an attempt solely to spark new development, nor to serve expressly as a ceremonial route. Instead, it was an attempt at consolidating practices of commerce, and areas of congregation and habitation, that were already there. This axis also varied from the above examples as it did not use the theatricality of the straight line: it did not connect monuments, but attempted to frame squares of congregation—the most important markets of the time. This axis did not present itself as an absolute straight line. It marked a sinuous route that crossed cinquecento Rome, stretching from Ponte S. Angelo along Via Mercatoria/Via del Pellegrino all the way south to the Ponte Santa Maria, south of the Tiber Island. This was one of the most frequented streets in the city at that time,¹⁴⁷ and it connected the main markets of the period, beginning with Campo de' Fiori, Piazza Giudea, Sant'Angelo in Pescheria, and the butchers' market around Marcello theater, to finish at the crossing of the Trastevere, over then Ponte Santa Maria.¹⁴⁸ This corridor hosted the activities of merchants and it is known to have been frequented widely at that time. It had the capacity to orient the entire city around its activities. It was not only commercial activities that took place there: so too did hostelrys for pilgrims, and important prelates had already begun building their palaces in the vicinity of this axis. It was there, as well, perhaps not coincidentally, that the important family Orsini had their sphere of influence. Francesco Condulmer, Eugenius' nephew, appointed by the latter as 'cardinal nephew'—¹⁴⁹a post in an intimate relation to the pope and who would have been similar to our contemporary version of a prime minister—had also established his place of residence on the edge of Campo e' Fiori. "His palace became a landmark in early Renaissance Rome, above the ruins of the Theater of Pompey at the [northern] edge of the Campo de' Fiori".¹⁵⁰ Just as Henri Lefebvre has suggested, these spaces that formed the center of "commerce in goods and money, the power of gold, the cynicism of this power, [were] also inscribed in the city and in it prescribe[d] an order."¹⁵¹

Eugenius was concerned with the ordering of these spaces. During the last years of his papacy this corridor was widely standardized, in a very simple, but lasting regulatory strategy the aim of which was to define the hierarchy of the streets of the area. As Anna Modigliani has shown, the actions consisted of separating the traffic of the market from that of regular use, and limiting the use of horse-drawn traffic.¹⁵² This was the first intervention under Eugenius' auspices, following the appointment of Trevisan, that aimed to embed papal power among the daily activities of the citizens: a crucial and

novel secular operation. It was also important because it did not follow the express limits of the baronial area of influence in Rome: it cut across them without undermining them. Population numbers were low, and the population was clustered around areas like this. Thus, this simple regulation might have had a wide impact on the daily lives of the populace. This intervention aimed at transforming not only the visual order of the streets but also the city's economic activity. It was an intervention based on the conditions of the time that, without imposing an image of the possibilities of the area, showed an attempt to intervene, albeit modestly—corresponding to the lack of funds at the time—among the daily activities of the populace. It was a subtle strategy, yet one that would nevertheless have transformed people conduct. This regulation was to become a sort of reminder of the temporal power of the pope.

Intrinsically related to the regularization of this corridor, around 1444 Campo de' Fiore was rehabilitated. Although many medieval depictions seem to have romanticized the area, presenting it as a 'field of flowers', implying a sense of desolation, many other accounts recorded the very opposite.¹⁵³ Campo de' Fiore was a much frequented space: it hosted the activities of the horse market and was surrounded by hostelries for the pilgrims and local bankers whose activities were linked to the corridor.¹⁵⁴ Charles Burroughs believes that the decision to upgrade the square might have been related to the increasing presence of important prelates in the vicinity.¹⁵⁵ During Eugenius' rule the Campo 'field' was paved for the first time—a civic gesture in a crucial space which must have been widely visible. This would have required a sizable investment of money, and its effects would have transformed the experience of this space—and perhaps with it the experience of papal power. This is the kind of intervention that motivated Vespasian da Bisticci to record his impression of Eugenius' return to Rome in the following: "Through the absence of the Pope Rome had become a mere cow-pasture, for the people kept cattle and cows in places which are now filled with seats of traders, and everyone went clad in peasant's cloaks and boots, because of the long absence of the court, and of the wars that had been prevalent. After the Pope [Eugenius] had come back with a splendid court most of the people reclothed and re-established themselves, and showed greater respect for His Holiness than they had ever shown before".¹⁵⁶

This simple intervention by Eugenius in Campo de' Fiori I believe consolidated what was already considered "the center of economic life"¹⁵⁷ in Rome at the time. The intervention was marked with the signature of papal power—and this is crucial. While we might tend to disregard this act of paving as mundane, I suggest we consider its possible importance in a context of a decaying, disorderly Rome, with little money for great repairs, where monumentality was not yet clearly defined and where actions like this one would have been perceived by all in the center of the inhabited area. Rather than requiring contemplation, as a monument might do, the subjects who experienced the change in the hierarchy of the streets and the paving of the square would have been immersed in a novel experience. The paving allowed not only for the delineation of an ordered space, but was registered in the direct experience of the populace. The hierarchy of streets, on the other side, would have directly affected

the subjects' activities. Certainly, among the rubble of the ruins and the general state of disrepair of Rome, this intervention must have attracted the attention of the populace.

Many other popes followed the effort to regularize and pave the streets of Rome with more consistency.¹⁵⁸ Yet with Eugenius it was more clearly a strategy of papal care. To situate the importance of this act of paving one has perhaps to remember the famous etching of the paving of Via Appia in Piranesi's *Antichità Romane* of 1765. One must have in mind the precise cutting, alignment, and disposition of the irregular stones, and how as a whole they become one texturized surface upon which systems of drainage and alignment could be imposed. One has to see this not simply with our twenty-first century eyes, but imagine it during its time when Rome was filled with cow fields: as the intervention that strategically aims to capture the attention of the inhabitants' perceptual sphere. The paving of Campo de' Fiore would have transformed the experience of what was a busy place of congregation in the center of the inhabited city. This axis of commerce was an act of care that was destined to operate at the level of the subjects' experience. In its ordinary nature, however,



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. "Veduta dell'antica Via Appia". In *Le Antichità Romane*. 1756.

considering the circumstances of the Rome of the time, these stones would have appeared as a surface of utilitarian beauty. Curiously, this is the way in which Piranesi would come to theorize magnificence.

Rehabilitation of the Pantheon and its Environs

For a modern eye, Eugenius IV's most famous intervention would have been the rehabilitation of Piazza della Rotonda—the square facing the Pantheon—under the direct command of Ludovico Trevisan, as has been suggested by Burroughs.¹⁵⁹ During that time, the square was a common place of gathering for merchants, with their disorderly stalls, and there were also some permanent shops. The Pantheon was one of the older structures of the city. It has been described accurately by Tod A. Marder as “a composite fossil that bore the imprints of the centuries,”¹⁶⁰ from hosting Hadrian's Temple to being the site of St. Mary and All Martyrs temple. However, it was in a severe state of disrepair. The Pantheon would have been cramped with stalls in the portico and many permanent structures would have surrounded it. It would not have appeared as the self-standing object that it is today. It suffered from devastating flooding, which until the 1420s kept the building under water to the level of the high altar.¹⁶¹ The columns of the portico were crumbling, and the interior required much work. This was a common picture in the sorry state of Rome at the time. Under Trevisan's personal guidance the square was expanded, the stalls were regularized and hygienic measures were taken to regulate the practices of the merchants. The Pantheon's exterior facade was cleared of many adjacent structures, and the columns were repaired and resurfaced. Internally, its entrance and floor were paved with travertine marble.¹⁶²

This restoration was highly praised in Flavio Biondo's account—curiously, it is one of the only acts he associates directly with Eugenius IV.¹⁶³ Biondo states: “the stupendous vault of the Pantheon, broken by old age and earthquakes and facing ruin was restored with your care and at your expense, pope Eugenius”.¹⁶⁴ Eugenius, he continues, recovered the “marvellous beauty of the building, which served as an ornament to the entire square”.¹⁶⁵ As Biondo makes no mention of the regulations of Ludovico, the care for hygiene measurements appear of little importance. However, he gives space in his account to emphasize the paving of the square and of the adjacent streets. Biondo notes that the streets linking the Pantheon to Campo Marzio were paved in travertine stones.¹⁶⁶ It is believed that these streets connected Piazza della Rotonda with Via Recta/dei Corinari (today's Via delle Colonnelle).¹⁶⁷ For a square that was nested so carefully in the midst of the inhabited part of the city, to mark its presence from the important Via Recta perhaps was a conscious attempt at drawing attention toward this space, to mark the sphere of influence that the papal power began to exercise over Rome. To do so with travertine stones—a smooth, clear and durable stone—would have made it again a clearly perceivable feature. For Biondo to add this apparently minor detail in his *Roma Instaurata*, which is otherwise an extremely succinct account of the history of edifices in the city,

speaks about the importance of this detail. The paving, together with the clearance of the Pantheon, began the process of recasting this square as a civic setting.

This intervention is best summarized by Burroughs as marking “the aesthetic aspect of the chamberlain’s [Trevisan] urbanistic measure, all of which seem intended to promote the production of a better-ordered and more salubrious urban environment, in which functional, economic, and social hierarchies were clearly expressed.”¹⁶⁸ Remaining modest in scale, the mingling of regulatory and restoration strategies set up a clear precedent that made it possible to visualize the potential restoration of Rome, to re-imagine the splendor that Rome could achieve. At stake here was the reconsideration of the role of beauty and welfare. All the examples of restoration, here analysed had the capacity to act as an exemplar of a new dimension of secular care by which the papal court attended to the needs of the populace. While it was by no means complete, this was the solid beginning of its regularization.¹⁶⁹

Linking the Trastevere

Biondo also associated Eugenius with an intervention relating to two ancient stone bridges connecting the Trastevere with the main *habitatio* in Rome: Pons Cestius and Pons Fabricius.¹⁷⁰ Pons Cestius, later called Gratiani,¹⁷¹ connected the western section of Tiber Island with the Trastevere, and Fabricius linked the east with the Marcellus theater. Sources vary as to the importance of these bridges in relation to more ancient ones, but there is a tendency to believe that, historically, the Cestius and Fabricius were secondary connections to the Trastevere.¹⁷² It is thought that a more direct connection for visitors entering Rome from the west had been provided by the ancient Pons Aemilius, located a few hundred meters southeast of the Cestius bridge. This marked the end of the consular road, the ancient Via Aurelia Vetus, today’s Via della Lungaretta, along which the wealthiest families of the Trastevere resided.¹⁷³ This was also the main connection with the port at Ripa Romea and during medieval times it also served as a crucial ceremonial route.¹⁷⁴ The linearity of Via della Lungaretta and its formal continuity as it encounters the Aemilius bridge, crossing the Tiber diagonally and avoiding the Tiber Island altogether, emphasizes the importance of this route, one the straightest streets in medieval Rome.

Regarding the original purpose of Cestius and Fabricius in ancient times, a recent interpretation situates their construction in the midst of a competitive environment of public works—and also under the shadow of the civil wars of the 40s BC.¹⁷⁵ Rabun Taylor introduces the bridges as a clear act of munificence by which Agrippa, motivated Cestius to construct them as part of a thoroughfare to serve the many people who, with little resources, began settling in the floodplain area of the Trastevere. The construction of the thoroughfare and the bridges were seen as a means to secure the allegiance of the people. Understood in this way, this thoroughfare appeared as a political gesture, in opposition to

Pons Aemilius, which served directly the wealthiest population of Trastevere. During Eugenius' time Pons Aemilius, then referred to as P. Santa Maria, must have already shown severe signs of decay as it finally collapsed in the fifteenth century—¹⁷⁶ thus its contemporary name, Ponte Rotto ('Broken Bridge'). One could speculate that Eugenius' intervention had a certain premonitory role in the fate of the Santa Maria bridge. Perhaps a more likely interpretation is that, just as in the case of Agrippa, Eugenius' rehabilitation of these connections was also a munificent act—a gift that nonetheless clearly related to the reactivation of the commercial axis of the Via Mercatoria mentioned above. His interventions along Via Mercatoria, cutting directly through the heart of the Tiber Island, must have been favored by the people. This remains at the level of speculation, but if this had been the case, not only might the commercial route have been consolidated, but it might have also continued the ceremonial route from Via della Lungaretta to Via Mercatoria/Pellegrino. This would clearly have been an attempt at reorienting the city with few but strategic interventions.

To conceive the thoroughfare as an act of munificence is a more plausible scenario if we also consider the special relation that Eugenius had with the Trastevere. It was where he sought refuge from the popular uprising in 1434, and it was also along the neighborhood's main street, Via Lungaretta, that the influential baronial family Anguillara had its residence, and it was the place from where Everso, the last great member of this clan, supported the return of Eugenius to Rome in 1443.¹⁷⁷ From this perspective, it is again not surprising that Eugenius favored this area. However, what may be surprising about this intervention is that he chose to focus on the reconstruction and restoration of a series of infrastructural elements. A more typical gesture would have been, for example, the restoration of Santa Maria in Trastevere, the commissioning of monumental interventions, or simply a tribute to Everso. This marks Eugenius' growing tendency toward an increasingly secular turn in his rule, in which he ceased to rely on the spiritual mechanisms invested in him, but began to articulate a form of power that was constituted through temporal, earthly alliances and interventions, while not dismissing his supreme spiritual power. This infrastructural intervention perhaps also emphasizes the utilitarian and urban nature of Eugenius' interventions—they were part of an instrumental strategy to construct his temporal greatness and to secure allegiances. Biondo's brief note on this intervention makes clear these two aspects: "reconstruction and restoration of its surfaces with travertine".¹⁷⁸ Within Biondo's concise history, this mention should be considered more carefully. What it emphasizes is, on the one hand, the utilitarian nature of the bridges, and on the other hand its decorative aspect. The mingling of utility, in this case facilitating circulation, and the beauty of the details, through its careful rustication, seem to have reappeared in Eugenius' secular interventions from 1440 onwards as a sort of signature of these last interventions.

Through these three interventions it becomes clear that for Eugenius to survive he had not only to affirm the promise of salvation but salvation had also to begin to be experienced also in the immediate world, in the lives of the people and the city of Rome itself. In other words, an equivalent to salvation

had to begin operating also among temporal affairs. The importance of this can be better understood by remembering the manner in which philosopher Giorgio Agamben questions the role of salvation in Christianity. Agamben refers to the theological metaphor of the empty throne to refer to the symbolic waiting of the faithful for the return of the messiah. Yet what Agamben emphasizes is that the importance of this metaphor was not only to instruct the faithful to prepare the throne for the messiah, but to have it ready always. Agamben states: “*hetoimasia* [the empty throne] does not mean the act of preparing and fitting out something, but the readiness of the throne¹⁷⁹”. In other words, Agamben shows how liturgy and other Church practices were established precisely to cultivate this throne, highlighting as such not only the single act of preparation, but also the eternal maintenance of the relation between divine power, the Church and the faithful. In other words, the empty throne is not a symbol of an eternal wait, but instead signifies the eternal intention to be ready, at any given point. What changed, however, with Eugenius IV—and this is perhaps the reason why Paolo Prodi located him at the outset of an early modern form of power—is that the liturgical practices which for centuries cultivated the empty throne, required action beyond the boundaries of the Church. In order to maintain the throne ready perpetually Eugenius perhaps realized that not only did he have to operate through the liturgical practices which he cherished—as we saw with the consecration of Florence’s basilica—he also had to spatialize the relation of care between the papal power and its subjects, through the space of the city. In other words, the maintenance of power had to be reconciled with its eternal management. The maintenance of papal power required its embedding among the life and active spaces of the faithful. The transformation of the ordering of Rome can perhaps be understood as following this prerogative.

However, what are we to make of what appears to be a somewhat minor set of works, in contrast to the far richer architectural and spatial histories of the popes that followed Eugenius? Is there a way to interpret his works that allows us to shed light on something more fundamental at stake—something more transformative, about which his interventions in the city speak? A clue to this may come in a dedication to Eugenius written by Flavio Biondo in his *Roma Instaurata* in 1446:

“...Rome, parent of genius, nurse of virtues, *mirror of excellency*, model of fame, summit of praise and glory and school of all good things which the earth possesses, had suffered a great diminution of her fame and glory... The return of the papacy to this seat, an act so useful and necessary to the preservation of the city, confirmed my plan to describe the city. Rome was so worn out by decay and calamities that if you had been absent for another ten years, it would have been completely destroyed. You [Eugenius] are helping the Romans not only by the presence of the Curia, which always contributed greatly to the wealth of the city, in many places and at great expense you have *rebuilt* and *restored* many ancient buildings. This is your beautiful act as a *magnanimous Prince*, most praiseworthy and glorious... Restoration of our city commemorates the work of the Roman popes who were your predecessors, which is fitting to the sanctimony of your dignity and most of all augments your glory... In describing the *magnificent* buildings of the city, it would not go without praise the illustrious Romans that founded them, the gentiles, the idols, the many glorious martyrs; nor the places where they victoriously passed away. I will therefore hand you this work with the hope that posterity will judge, and remember the church and palace of St. Peter and that of St. John Lateran, the bronze doors made for the church of St. Peter, the walls of the Vatican and Borgo, and the improvements to the streets of the city, which have made the city more stable and will ensure it endures for a longer time”.¹⁸⁰

If it was customary that during Biondo's times dedications such as this one were written primarily to unconditionally thank the patron for his support, it is telling for our argument that Biondo's dedication departed from such a model. On the one hand, the most prominent eulogies are not directed to Eugenius but toward Rome. While he laments the centuries of oblivion Rome had experienced, he nevertheless concentrates on highlighting the potential capacity of Rome to act as a "model of fame", "mirror of excellency", "parent of genius", and the like. And, on the other hand, it is only in relation to Eugenius' restoration works that he is praised as a "magnanimous prince". In other words, Eugenius is only praised in so far as he contributes to such restoration works. In this departure from the expected elevation of the patron lies a lesson that is designed to illustrate the new role of Rome in the calculations of papal power. That the eulogy to Eugenius is presented in relation to the city makes clear the overall shift in the concerns at the time: namely, the increasing predominance of the secular within the papal court, the growing importance of Rome in asserting the power of that court, and an emerging attention toward the care of the conditions of habitation of the populace. In other words, Biondo's eulogy situates Eugenius within the shifting center of accountability, from the divine to the temporal affairs of city life.

Biondo had not only intimate knowledge of Rome's fabric and its antiquities but also of Eugenius' struggles and development. Biondo, who served the pope closely as apostolic secretary throughout Eugenius' papacy, was aware of Eugenius' chaotic papacy and the importance of his assertion of power in Rome. As such he chose his words carefully in addressing Eugenius as "magnanimous prince", a title which refers to the fusion of his religious and political powers, a fusion that was now inseparable. Along these lines, I believe that this subordination of Eugenius to Rome, or to his temporal acts, was not coincidental. Nor, as others have argued, was it a gesture by which Biondo was emphasizing Eugenius' humility.¹⁸¹ Instead, it was a declaration that the greatness of papal power had been restated, and, more importantly, a reminder that the greatness of papal power was becoming indistinguishable from Eugenius himself. Thus it is not surprising that Biondo broadens the praise to include other popes, stating: "restoration (*instaurare*) of our city commemorates the work of the Roman popes [...] and most of all augments your glory."¹⁸² In brief, his dedication was a concise reminder that the interests of Rome and of the pope were now indistinguishable.

It is only by seeing Rome and the pope as an increasingly unified entity that we can begin to understand the potential that Biondo ascribed to the acts of restoration—which mark the last phase of Eugenius. For Biondo, to restore Rome was to restore, with it, papal power. In brief, to restore was a political act in itself. The restoration of Rome, it could be said, was not only the means of power, but also its ends. It is thus not surprising that the city works are described in Biondo's dedication as having a mixture of material and governmental-sounding attributes. For example, in referring to the improvement of the streets, Biondo presents this as a sign of stability and endurance. Or take, for example, any of the metaphors used by Biondo to describe Rome: to situate the city as a model,

mirror or father involves a relation of interdependency between the city and power. Any of these metaphors suggest binding relations.

Take, for example, the metaphor of the mirror, used by Biondo to exalt Eugenius' magnificence. What is a mirror but a perceptual device? What is crucial, for our purposes, is that the mirror brings attention to the metaphorical perception of the pope's power in Rome. The intensity of Eugenius' shift toward a focus on the secular spaces of the city – to the streets, markets and infrastructure – is perhaps not a coincidence. It not only shows an attempt to secularize his power, but also to construct the perception of this power. That in his last years Eugenius ceased to restore churches, shifting his attention toward the restoration of the city's streets, markets, hygiene, and infrastructure, is not a coincidence. It reflected a rather different concern, one that was dedicated no longer to procuring his spiritual status but instead to directly engaging with the living conditions of the people. The people's experience of these improvements could be, as Biondo proposes, a reflection of Eugenius' excellence. This shift had to do with the re-situation of the city as a perceptual medium through which to construct relations of power which considered the subjects' receptivity.

III

Magnificence, or the Politics of Restoring the Ordinary

In the previous section, we saw Eugenius' growing tendency to assert his power through the spaces in Rome. In this section, I will attempt to situate his works within a wider fifteenth-century picture, in which Europe was becoming, as Paolo Prodi terms it, "irrevocably polycentric"¹⁸³. In other words, the moment in which the contours of early modern power began to be determined no longer by the absolute power of the pope but rather by the formation of new principalities, the shift of territorial alliances and boundaries, and the mediation of state and Church affairs through Vatican concordats or similar agreements. Paolo Prodi describes this moment with the following words: "[from the mid-fifteenth century] there is a universe without empire where papal sovereignty, almost like a historical act of *donatio*¹⁸⁴ in reverse, not only does not attack the princes' power but justifies it, and where, therefore, direct and limited domination which the papacy maintains, becomes truly—even from the angle of the legitimation of sovereignty—the prototype of modern State division."¹⁸⁵ This was a sign of an impending re-orientation of power in the west: a new polycentric world constructed through law, territorial wars, alliances and donations – but also, I would like to suggest, through the pursuit of temporal magnificence. In other words, in this shift in the sphere of power, I would like to argue, magnificence becomes a crucial currency in the emerging early modern world.

Eugenius did not escape from this shift. His increased interest in the city, the material transformations and everyday improvements, all must be retrospectively assessed in relation to the pursuit of magnificence, because, as historian John Towes emphasized, “in choosing to function as a fifteenth-century state, they [popes] also agreed to pay the price of being such a state”.¹⁸⁶ Or, put differently, as Erns Kantorowicz’ critical history has articulated, as it entered the Renaissance, the papacy was “...to be measured not only by the standards of heaven—of God or angel—but they became comparable also when reduced to a standard valid on earth, the standard of Man.”¹⁸⁷ In this context, Eugenius was declared a “magnanimous prince” in relation to his restoration works. This was not simply a random eulogy but, rather the result of the cultivation of a novel expression of power. Despite the rather ordinary, or somewhat sober, interventions of Eugenius, I believe that his last works should be assessed in relation to the increasingly crucial role that materiality began to acquire as part of the calculations of early modern power. In other words, contrary to appearances, Eugenius’ interventions in the city, I will argue, bear the signature of a wider transformation of power in which the material transformation of the city was discovered as an inherent means by which to achieve magnificence. Crucial perhaps to this idea of magnificence is that in its fifteenth-century existence it operated as a perceptual technique – perhaps the first such technique of early modern power.

During his papacy, Eugenius, was still operating under the shadow of traditional theological concepts, which gave distinctiveness to his attitude toward expenditure and the visibility of his power. His novel expression of magnificence was dedicated to the reworking of the religious to present it, through his building interventions, as a supplement to secular government. If we are to consider Eugenius as contributing to the pursuit of magnificence, this will only be possible if we consider the notion of magnificence as having onto-theological consequences. It is crucial to remember that in the Bible, for example, eulogies for individuals in which they are praised for the qualities of magnificence, magnanimity, glory, and so on, seem to have been restricted to acts of divine power by which they were rendered venerable. Take, for example, the description of miracles in Saint Augustine as being magnificent¹⁸⁸ acts of God. Or the use of the term “*magnificare*”, which opens ‘the Magnificat’ – the Virgin Mary’s proclamation in the Bible of the modes in which she magnifies the Lord.¹⁸⁹ That building projects are somehow elevated as quasi-theological categories is revealing of the broader change of attitude at work here. That Biondo, for example, referred to buildings or works of restoration as potentially augmenting Eugenius’ glory can be understood as already belonging to this shift.¹⁹⁰ “Restoration of our city”, Biondo states, “commemorates the work of the Roman popes who were your [Eugenius’] predecessors, which is fitting to the sanctimony of your dignity and most of all *augments* your glory... In describing the *magnificent* buildings of the city, it would not go without praise the many illustrious Romans that founded them...”¹⁹¹ What is crucial is that in its theological narrative, these forms of eulogy, medieval concepts of value, and the moral role of expenditure all aided the construction of a narrative involving the only God and his relation to the institutions of the Christian Church, and the faithful. In Biondo, magnificence and glory are declared as being

constructed through the material fabric of the city of Rome: implying that what is also constructed there is a particular narrative of power through temporal means—especially spatial and perceptual means.

‘Magnificence’ came to the center of theological and philosophical debate as western Europe, and specifically Florence, was confronted with the accumulation of wealth as an unavoidable reality. As surplus became inevitable, so it was inevitable that it would be conceptualized. Jacques Le Goff argued that a crucial turning point in the reconceptualization of this surplus arose in the twelfth century, with a change in the attitude of the Church toward merchants, whose practices began to be tolerated and considered somewhat useful: “on condition they respected certain values which can [...] be summed up as the requirement for justice”.¹⁹² Another important reflection in the quattrocento centered around notions of value and the gift economy. For example, the medieval Christian notion of *caritas*, which was “the essential social link between medieval man and God”¹⁹³, which was paradigmatically theorized by Thomas Aquinas, became the center of debate. Also, the role of temporal things, and of use and property became the subject of reassessment from the thirteenth century onwards by mendicant orders, such as that of the Franciscan order, founded by Francis of Assisi—a fearless advocate of voluntary poverty—himself the son of a merchant.¹⁹⁴ Reflections on the role of outward splendor also emerged from the thirteenth century onwards, in the form of sumptuary laws. And, in popular debate, excess was also widely considered to be socially unacceptable.¹⁹⁵

The moral implications of the expenditure of wealth also framed many philosophical accounts, especially those drawing on the rediscovery of Aristotelian thought, where virtues relating to liberality (a virtue related to expenditure) were discussed. One catalyst of these reflections may have been the translation by Leonardo Bruni of the *Nicomachean Ethics* from the Greek in the first decade of the quattrocento. It is in this work that Aristotle recorded his reflections on the virtues that deal with expenditure. In it he argues that magnificence “is an attribute of expenditures of the kind which we call honorable, e.g. Those connected with the gods—votive offerings, buildings, and sacrifices—and similarly with any form of religious worship, and all those that are proper objects of *public-spirited ambition*”¹⁹⁶. While clearly appearing broad in scope, magnificence specifically related to the outcome. As Aristotle framed it, “the result should be worthy of the expense [...] The magnificent man will spend gladly and lavishly; for a precise calculation is a niggardly thing. And he will consider how the result can be made most *beautiful* and most *becoming* rather than for how much it can be produced and how it can be produced most cheaply. [...] The greatness implied in the name of the magnificent man—his bigness, as it were—is manifested”.¹⁹⁷ In terms of its manifestation, it is relevant that to note the attributes of a magnificent man, Aristotle makes a comparison between him and an artist. He states: “For a possession and a work of art have not the same excellence. The most valuable possession is that which is worth most, e.g. gold, but the most valuable work of art is that which is great and beautiful (for the *contemplation* of such a work inspires admiration, and so does

magnificence); and a work has an excellence—namely, magnificence—which involves *magnitude*”.¹⁹⁸ The implication that a magnificent act is comparable to a work of art seems to imply a relation that goes beyond the metaphorical meaning. This comparison could instead be understood as the means by which Aristotle makes imperative the perceptual prerogative as he calls for the virtuous expense. More importantly, the effect expected from the magnificent act is a sort of reverence, admiration or contemplation. That all of these forms of attention are now invested in a ‘secular’ field is crucial here.

These reflections by Aristotle fueled, albeit at times indirectly, many of the theories that grew up around the rationalization of excess, wealth and outward splendor – especially in quattrocento Florence. Theological concern with outward splendor was expressed by the Dominican friar Sant’ Antonino Pierozzi (1389–1459),¹⁹⁹ who, as confidant of Cosimo de Medici and Archbishop of Florence from 1446, influenced the flourishing of architecture in Florence. The Lateran Canon Timoteo Maffei (ca. 1415–1470), a figure that art historian Ernst Gombrich brought to the attention of his field, defended not only the agenda of Cosimo de Medici but also the virtue of ‘building patronage’ in general by re-animating the concept of magnificence inscribed in the *Summa* of Aquinas. Important to mention in this reanimation of Aristotelian thought is the reflection of Leonardo Bruni who emphasized the expenditure of wealth as a notion of common good, departing radically from medieval conceptions in which wealth was considered somewhat sinful. Bruni “emphasized riches as the foundation of the state, not only because wealth provided the material well-being for the security of the state but also because it presented a moral challenge to the active citizen”²⁰⁰. By the second half of the fifteenth century these issues were being discussed beyond Florence. Written in Naples in 1498 the humanist Giovanni Pontano’s *De splendore* reflected on domestic display. Pontano’s understanding of magnificence called princes to construct their “authority through great public works”.²⁰¹ This text became instrumental in the establishment of the Aragonese dynasty.

Not only did these voices begin to justify the visibility of power, but, more importantly, they began to assemble a theoretical corpus which gave legitimate reasons as to why princely figures should come to power through their wealth. As Joseph F’ O’Connor and Christine Smith have suggested, “The picture that emerges [from the debate about magnificence] is that the association between large building projects and the virtue of magnificence was developed by professional religious, who arrived at Aristotle through Thomas Aquinas, in order to legitimize power wielded by individuals”.²⁰² What was also inscribed implicitly in this debate was that the city, and the realm of its perception, was clearly of interest to power. Building interventions were now conceptualized not only as representing power, but as constructing and cultivating relations of power. In other words, the role of the subjects’ receptivity to acts of power was clearly legitimized. As building patronage became more common, and as the rationalization of excess²⁰³ did away with the former condemnation of expenditure, popes and princes began to pursue power not only through law and territorial war, but also through their pursuit of magnificence. By the fifteenth century conspicuous expenditure was already conceived of

as potentially virtuous. This was possible only because the shift discussed above was not isolated but was a clear social construct which began to achieve maturity from the mid-fifteenth century on. I believe Eugenius' building patronage in Rome took place within this context. Discussion of the use of expenditure involves the discovery, almost inadvertently, of the capacity of city interventions to operate increasingly as political instruments of subjectification. Magnificence in its different forms begins to show the struggle to come to terms with the manifestation of temporal power, but also the struggle of temporal power to relate to subjects who were increasingly receptive to its actions. From this debate there emerge attempts to persuade and form subjects through temporal means: the city begins to bear witness to the manner in which earthly power is constructed and perceived.

In outlining some of the voices within the discourse on magnificence, and the wider shift to which they respond, it is also crucial to attend to the wide range of interpretations of the idea of magnificence. This range shows how impossible it is to reduce this complex debate to a single definition of magnificence. This was perhaps an underlying theme of the notion expressed in Aristotle, not to dictate an answer but to open to reflection the issues that surround this virtue, such as the public nature of building interventions, expenditure, power, and honor. I insist that to restrict magnificence to lavish palaces, ornamented materiality, and so on, is to restrict oneself to only one of the many expressions that can be understood as magnificent. Magnificence fuel the ambitions of the rich to use their wealth as a symbol of status in the fifteenth century. This is exemplified by many wealthy merchants in Florence, who began build residences that served as symbols of competitive display, turning Florence into what Peter Burke described as a "land of façades".²⁰⁴ It could also be said that magnificence was a far more general shift, with the potential to ignite ideas within ecclesiastical circles about the means by which to procure reverence, admiration and contemplation. Magnificence, as such, made possible, in its virtuous form, an attempt to re-imagine the religious virtue of *caritas* in secular terms, a virtue that was not only about giving but also about love.

It is in the context of the latter that I believe Eugenius can be judged. The tendency to secularize his building interventions makes clear the ways in which the papal court began to become aware of the receptivity of the faithful toward the temporal actions of the pope. That, in the span of the 16 tumultuous years of his papacy, Eugenius shifted his interventions can be understood in the light of this wider changing role of building interventions that the pursuit of magnificence involves. His shift from commissioning the highly symbolic Filarete door for St. Peter's to his last quasi-infrastructure interventions is a sign of this awareness of the role his people's consent would come to have in the assertion of Eugenius' temporal power.

While magnificence cannot be restricted to a single concept, it can nevertheless be understood as an art of obtaining public attention and reception, of capturing the attention of the people while inducing them to engage in a process of acceptance, pride and gratitude. As an artistic practice, it is manifested as act 'fitting', or suited to, the circumstances, as it was originally formulated by Aristotle. We can

begin to understand how this notion could support many interpretations. It could be said that it was conditional at several levels: as a prerequisite, as “great expenditure is becoming to those who have suitable means to start with”²⁰⁵; as an action, as “it is the *right* expenditure that is virtuous”²⁰⁶; as an outcome, as magnificence depends upon the decorum of the visible act. This contingent aspect of magnificence was perhaps most emphasized in the appropriation of the notion in ecclesiastical use. Magnificence had for long belonged to the ecclesiastical domain in the form of liturgic acclamations. Yet, it was with Eugenius IV in his struggle to establish his secular power, that the pursuit of magnificence began to be tested in other mediums. In doing this, Eugenius’ task was to re-articulate his theological power in the public arena, in which attention and receptivity were beginning to be identified as being able to articulate relations between subjectivity and sovereignty. This is perhaps the most seductive aspect of this notion which began to be tested during the early Renaissance.

Proposing that Eugenius’ building interventions be considered as part of the wider shift described above implies the suggestion that the ‘restoration of the ordinary’, if we can conceptualize Eugenius’ work as such, was in itself a political act. Far from being an inconsequential act of maintenance, Eugenius’ restoration, I would argue, was a form of reconstructing the present with that which was already there. It was a form of imagining the becoming of a place through strategic interventions. It was an act which required an interpretive approach to the conditions which shaped the life in the present. It was an act which, although it did not present itself with a flashy ex-novo quality, nevertheless had the potential to act on a scale that could be considered magnificent. In its strategic nature, it operated at a scale that had the capacity to reorient the city, and to involve the public in what could be understood as the spatial strategies of papal care—a space in which ordinariness in the city became of interest to the powerful.

It is important to make a clarification here regarding the role of Eugenius in early modern history. I did not intend in these pages to provide a comprehensive history of Eugenius, nor to rescue a somewhat forgotten character within the canon of architectural Renaissance history by referring to his singular accomplishments. Nor does this account aim to historicize the discourse of the ordinary, or to celebrate the ‘everyday’. Rather, by insisting on Eugenius’ role at the beginning of a renewed tradition of magnificence I bring attention to a wide historical shift. Eugenius operated at a time when a major historico-political transition was taking place in the way that space and power were reformulated. Eugenius’ role in this, while seeming minor, is nevertheless crucial in understanding this shift. His struggles to assert temporal supremacy speak about the struggles of an era to come to terms with temporal power. In other words, Eugenius’ struggles to intervene in the city speak also about the need to re-imagine how the wider secular shift requires rulers to immerse its actions among those of the people in Rome.

The spatial tradition that Eugenius contributed to inaugurated a pattern of city interventions that would continue for centuries to come. The significance of his early attention to the streets was, for

example, not missed by Piero del Massaio in his famous representation of Rome toward the end of the quattrocento. Nor was his attention to the ancient bridges of Cestius and Fabricius missed by Piranesi's perceptive assessment of the role of Roman magnificence. And, of course, his attention to the Pantheon and its environs, while not yet expressing the geometrical regularity that came to frame the obsession with the regularization of squares in the Renaissance, was nevertheless part of this history.

Rome's Two Dimensions in Massaio's Rome

Eugenius' interventions are rendered clearer in Massaio's cartographic representation of Rome of 1472.²⁰⁷ His map was made to accompany an illustrated edition of Ptolemy's *Cosmography*.²⁰⁸ If Ptolemy's *Cosmography* called for a reflection of the measurement and representation of space then it would have been difficult to imagine that any line or surface in Massaio's maps appeared arbitrarily. As such, that Eugenius' 'axis of commerce', as was introduced above, was to be part of this drawing seems to speak about the importance of his intervention – however ordinary it might seem to the modern eye. The manner in which his 'axis' was drawn breaks with the consistency of drawing techniques that had previously marked Massaios' city maps. If its inclusion signals its importance, the drawing technique presents it as something novel in the fabric of city at the time. This was the only instance in which Massaios' drawing technique changed in the other cartographic representations of cities that accompanied Ptolomy's volume. In the cities he traced, ranging from Florence and Venice to Constantinople, Damascus, Alexandria and Cairo, among others, he restricted their representation to three-dimensional edifices, monuments, city walls, topographical features, and substantial bodies of water. Buildings appeared symbolically abstracted, their architectural features were emphasized with the detail that was expected from an artist with Massaio's miniaturist credentials. Only the map of Rome has a detail that breaks with the consistency of all the other drawings. Massaio draws a line that is indicative of a street, probably Via Mercatoria (del Pellegrino), by which he links several markets that were operating during the early cinquecento. This was the only street he drew in all the maps. From south to north the line stretches from the market square in the Capitol, to S. Angelo in Pescheria, Piazza Giudea, Campo de' Fiore and S. Celso.²⁰⁹ The consistency of the drawing style is also broken with two patches by which he represents Campo e' Fiori and Piazza Giudea. If Massaio's representations consistently captured cities as a sort of archipelago of monuments, how can we interpret the importance given to this axis that Eugenius so carefully procured, in relation to the monuments in Rome?

The axis is represented side by side with the most important structures of antiquity (among those: the Coliseum, Trajan's column, Meta Romuli, Meta Remi, Terme di Diocleziano, the Pantheon, among others); its fortified structures, such as Torre delle Milizie and the Aurelian walls that surrounded the Vatican; its gates; its religious edifices (San Giovanni in Laterano, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Santa

Maggiore, San Lorenzo in Lucina, San Pietro, among many others); civic structures; and infrastructure (such as Palazzo dei Conservatori, Pons Celsius, Gratiani, Aemilius, and the aqueduct); and of course its many hills. Among all these monumental structures, what was the role of the single line, and the patches represented by Massaio? What was the role of those spaces devoid of any architectural qualities in his drawing?

Anna Modigliani suggested in her studies of markets of the time that Massaio's map is important because it captures the coexistence of "the two dimensions of the city, the ancient and the modern". In doing so, "Massaio [Modigliani argues] makes concrete the actual city [of the quattrocento], the functional city of the inhabitants of the time made of squares, stress and places in which daily activities are carried on."²¹⁰ Massaio suggests, I believe, that Rome was not only constituted in the imaginary through the monumental but also through the squares and streets that framed the activities of the people, such as those that Eugenius improved. It is also declaring a different form of intervention that transformed Rome: one that was not based on objects alone, but on the spatial relations of the surroundings. The drawing represents not the archipelago of monuments, but the emerging fields and lines of the city—artificial environments. Those patches that Massaio represented acted as a 'surface of care' procured by Eugenius. These surfaces of paving, insignificant though they might sound to us, constructed a new relation between the city and its subjects. Its task was to provide a carpet of care which in a subtle and indirect, but nonetheless powerful, manner, guided the conduct of people. More importantly, Massaio's map reminds us that Eugenius' interventions operated in relation to other monumental projects. The map is not only a representation of two dimensions of the city, it is the representation of two forms of magnificence.

For Eugenius' successor, Nicholas V, magnificence was predicated on the emphasis on the monumentality of St. Peter's, conceived as a didactic device by which veneration could be cultivated.²¹¹ In Massaio's map, magnificence is predicated on two dimensions of the city of the time—the one hosting the center of commercial and daily activities, which Eugenius regularized, the other still awaiting restoration. Massaio's emphasis on Eugenius' irregular surfaces and sinuous corridor show us a more indirect intervention of papal power, one that manifested itself in the life of citizens.

Of course, the irregularity portrayed in the map shows that, during Eugenius' time, we do not see the spatial treatment that would come to characterize the next century. There is no regular geometry, there is no defined object of vision: there is simply the delineation of an irregular perimeter that could be experienced through the recently paved areas. Its appearance in Massaio's drawing suggests that the space that was created there was limited and comprehensive. This delimitation of space was, however, significant at the time. The surfacing of the pavement might have captured a sort of cognitive spatial map in the minds of the inhabitants. This form of spatial treatment of Eugenius' corridor of commerce, depicted by Massaio, distances itself not only from that described by Marvin Trachtenberg as a space defined through the perception of architectural solids,²¹² but it also differs from that defined

Piero del Massaio. Rome, 1473.
In Claudius Ptolemaeus Cosmographia.



through geometrical measurements and perspectival thinking which came to dominate the late cinquecento, and which Erwin Panofsky canonically analyzed.²¹³ What we confront here is not yet a modern conception of the rationalization of space, where relations between subject and spatial relations are subjected to measure, calculation and control, but instead the emergence of a space as a category related to power. Eugenius' interventions stand not for the rationalization of what we see, but for the prescription of a political rationality inscribed in that which we experience.

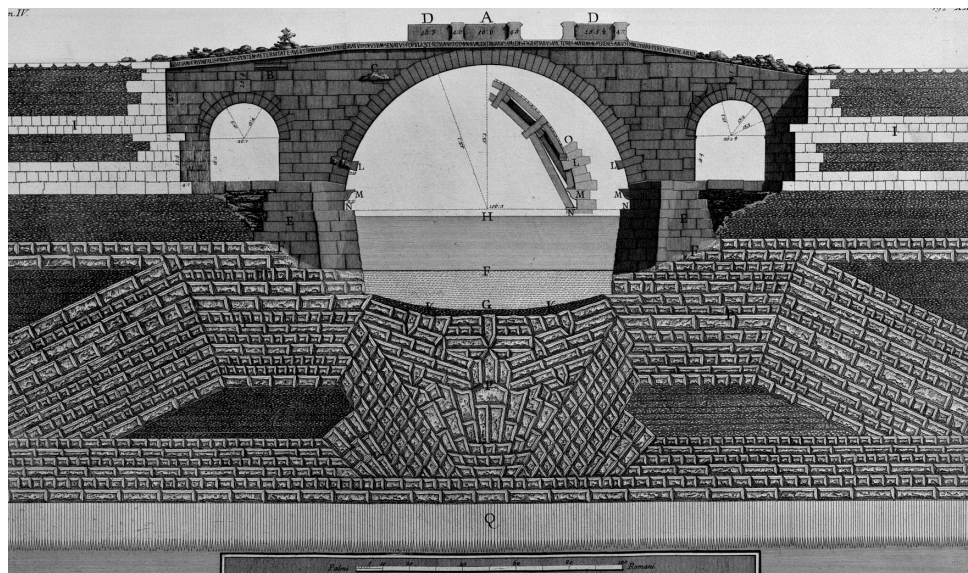
Utilitarian Magnificence

In the mid-eighteenth century, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) paid attention to objects of antiquity that had come to the center of attention for Eugenius and Biondo. In his etchings of his *Antichità Romane* of 1756, Piranesi exalted the construction and engineering details, materiality,

ancient streets and monuments of ancient Roman architecture. However, Piranesi was alone in emphasizing these elements of ancient Rome – its massive utilitarian structure and its convoluted decorative details – as deserving any attention. In drawing these objects, Piranesi did not simply represent them, he re-imagined them. Antiquity, in his hands, was not simply the passive reflection of the distant past, but the possibility of re-imagining their place in the construction of the present.

In this work, Piranesi depicted the same bridges that Eugenius attempted to restore, Pons Cestius and Fabricius. Perhaps it could be said that what Eugenius attempted in the fifteenth century, Piranesi re-imagined in the eighteenth. In Piranesi's etchings, the rustication of the bridges is highlighted with careful detail: the bridges are clearly re-imagined. Through the drawings, the bridges are restored to a degree. This becomes evident if you compare Piranesi's drawings with the more realistic representation of the same bridges in Giuseppe Vasi's *Isola Tiberina verso Occidente*,²¹⁴ from his series *Delle Magnificenze di Roma Antica e Moderna*. While Piranesi was Vasi's apprentice, his own work departed from the latter, as he emphasized the role of Rome beyond its current state. In Piranesi's cross-section of the Cestius bridge,²¹⁵ which he presents as Ponte Ferrato, Piranesi includes geometrical specifications, measurements and construction details, but the central emphasis in the etching is on the foundation. The rocks that support the bridge are carefully detailed, bearing a beauty that one might have expected to instead frame a facade. That these details have been given to the foundation is clearly not an attempt to document it as such, but an insistence on the 'other' beauty of the bridge, founded on the structure itself. This structural element is not visible, yet seems to dwarf the actual exterior part of the bridge, and to render homage to its function and rationalization.

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Elevazione del Ponte Ferrato*. Circa 1750. In 'Le Antichità Romane IV'. XXIII, 192, Tom IV



The structural and material elements that Piranesi emphasizes through the intense detail of his etchings characterize many plates of his *Antichità*. As an object of reflection, it returns in Piranesi's later writings, especially in his theory of magnificence, which he wrote in 1761 under the title *Delle magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani*. There, in what is considered to be "his most important polemical treatise",²¹⁶ he departs not only from notions of Vitruvian beauty, but also from the

supremacy of Greek proportion and what came to be referred to as *'belle simplicité'*²¹⁷. Instead, Piranesi insisted on the role of purpose and necessity as bearing an intrinsic beauty, which he found in ancient Roman utilitarian structures, such as aqueducts, bridges, construction techniques and the like. With this he redefines magnificence as the 'aesthetics of purposiveness'²¹⁸, to borrow Lola Kantor-Kazovsky's term.

In this way, Piranesi reconceptualizes magnificence, and in doing so he redefines the role of beauty and the utilitarian spaces of the city as critical to the discourse of architecture. In a oft-quoted passage of Piranesi's *Magnificenza*, he defines beauty as follows:

"I believe that, concerning buildings, it consists in giving truly apt and agreeable form to the whole construction, and in distributing its parts neatly and with advantage, so that they accord with each other, that the whole produces an effect of a certain natural grace and ornament that attracts the eyes of the beholder. But I also believe that in this kind of work one must principally take into account its nature and purpose, because just as children's grace differs from that of men, thus in buildings that deserve gravity and dignity, ornaments must be used very parsimoniously, because this very dignity and majesty serves as their adornment."²¹⁹

Beauty, in Piranesi, is always subject to the "nature and purpose" of the building. His shift to an appreciation of the importance of infrastructure and ordinary structures was, I believe, one he shared with Eugenius. Eugenius' works during his last years were directed toward ideals that Piranesi theorized centuries later.

Piranesi, however, saw monumentality in these utilitarian structures something we cannot project onto Eugenius ad-hoc interventions. Despite the strategic selection of intervention spaces, which bear a similarity with those depicted by Piranesi, it would be wrong to think that Eugenius embraced this monumentality. The relation is simply tangential. Eugenius focused on real utility in architectural structures, just Piranesi did according to influential theorist, Carlo Lodoli—the Venetian Franciscan friar—who many, including art historian Rudolf Wittkower, have suggested influenced Piranesi²²⁰—Lodoli's radical conceptualization of utility followed the "socratic requirement of actual utility, without regard to the form's attractiveness".²²¹

This influence, however, has been refuted by Kantor-Kazovsky, in a very complete account of Piranesi, where she emphasizes that Piranesi was not only interested in utilitarian beauty but also in the cohesiveness between the parts and the whole – in other words, the relation between the details of the stones that composed the bridge and the overall image of the bridge as monumental. Eugenius does not share such an a priori attempt to redefine the ordinary as monumental, but what he shares with Piranesi is the identification of the ordinary as projecting magnificence in itself. Most of Eugenius' works involved the paving of spaces in Rome and the resurfacing of the bridges – they not only brought attention to the usefulness of a place, but they delineated as well the influence of the papal government. In exalting, the role of utilitarian structures, in the case of the bridges, Piranesi implicitly calls for the re-imagination of the role of the city – as Eugenius called for the re-

imagination of papal care. The focus on such ordinary elements of the city should be considered not simply as a neutral background but as the forebears of political struggle.

Brivio's Rome: Citizen's Love

The subtle nature of Eugenius' secular interventions, however difficult to discern, resonated years later. I believe that what was achieved in Eugenius' last attempts forms part of a political history that has not come to an end, in so far as inscribing strategies of care in the spaces of the city is still a part of modern governmentality. The outputs have changed, and of course today repaving, resurfacing, restoring and a few regulations alone will not do. But the field of intervention during Eugenius' time was a rather different story: Rome was a field for the pasturing of cows, a place of decay, deregulation, disorder, and devaluation of all that its ancient fabric stood for. In such a landscape, Eugenius' actions, subtle as they were, intervened in relation that which was most needed: the ordinary spaces of Rome. This act, however, was not a romantic everyday improvement: it was a political act, perhaps his attempt to cultivate his subjects' affections.

Could it be possible in fact to construct affective relations between power and subjects through the spaces of the city? What does this procurement of the subjects' affections tell us about the changing nature of power? And, more specifically, is this potential bond capable of reconstituting the means by which power secures itself? Would it be possible to imagine that the pursuit of *security* of power is not only achieved through military tactics, but also through strategies of *care*? This perhaps could be better grasped by reflecting for a moment on the concept 'citizen's love' (*civis amor*) that was developed a few years after Eugenius' passing, by Giuseppe Brivio in 1453.

Brivio, whose words introduced this chapter, was a learned Milanese who served as a minor functionary to Eugenius' successor, Nicholas V. Brivio wrote the poem '*Conformatio Curie Romane*' as a direct response to the conspiracy against the pope instigated by the beloved Roman noble Stefano Porcari (d. 1453). In this context he develops his concept of 'citizen's love' – which reflection concludes this chapter. Porcari was inspired by republican ideas, and his contribution can be traced from Eugenius to his successor Nicholas V. In regard to Eugenius, Porcari operated within the Papal Curia. He served in several posts, but, more importantly, he was Eugenius' personal mediator against the Romans following the critical uprising of 1434 which initiated Eugenius' long exile.²²² Eugenius did not accept Porcari's negotiations, and instead restored order in Rome through the controversial appointment of Vitelleschi who used force of arms. With Eugenius' death, Porcari, between 1447 and 1453, attempted on three occasions an uprising against his successor.²²³ His attempts, however, were ended with his death in 1453. Yet his critique of papal power lived on for a long time in the many reflections among humanists that followed his death. Brivio was one of these humanists who left a record of this events with his poem. Brivio's poem, writing within the papal court, presented his poem

partly as a defense to the pope, and partly as a letter of advice, in which he urges papal power to cultivate a citizen's love as a form of security.

It is crucial that Brivio does not ponder Porcari's specific demands: he instead addresses the event simply as a note of dissent. His advice centers instead on the strategies for papal security within Rome. Brivio defends the pope by giving, as Westfall suggests, "evidence of Nicholas's *care* [for his subjects] in his office"²²⁴. This form of care is most emphatically presented by Brivio either through economic benefits—low taxation—or by praising Nicholas' monumental city works—the construction of defensive walls and towers, the expansion of St. Peter's, and the founding of the Papal Palace.²²⁵ As Westfall suggests, by 1453 Nicholas' building works would have already been visible and could have been misinterpreted by Porcari.²²⁶ If we consider for a moment that economic and architectural elements were used as elements of defense from political unrest, we can begin to see how the mechanisms to assert security within the populace were radically changing at this time. It was not enough to claim a divine right to power, for power to assert itself it now needed to understand how its interventions would affect the lives of citizens. This is the context in which we should read Brivio's advice. Brivio suggests, as quoted in the introduction of this chapter, that before any fortress is to be constructed, the love of a citizen should be cultivated, claiming clearly "citizen's love is more powerful than all standing fortresses".²²⁷

The same advice will resonate in other treatises of political theory from this point on: for example, 60 years after Brivio Niccolo Machiavelli would insist similarly: "... the best fortress for the prince is to be loved by his people"²²⁸. This is not an attempt to put forward a romantic idea of love, but rather one of its political use. It identifies the role of the citizen as partaking in power relations. Perhaps this is also why Tafuri, when analyzing Nicholas' building works, centers his attention upon Alberti's words of criticism of Nicholas, by stating how the citizen was nowhere to be seen in the world that Nicholas was creating: "*cives, esse non licere*".²²⁹ It could be said that Brivio was in fact highlighting Nicholas' failure to have recognized the changing nature of security, as procured from within. In other words, Brivio, both through his defense and advice, highlights what is at stake in the modern Papal State: the intertwined relations between the subject, his or her affective life, and the perception of papal power. Perhaps Nicholas V, in investing so heavily in the *monumentalization* of religious ideas, he failed to attend to the ordinary affairs that Eugenius cultivated so well. It could be said that, Nicholas, in rejecting ordinary concerns, he disregarded a type of security cultivated from within as a means to make present a practice of love for the citizens—*civis amor*.

This care for the subject, care for his or her ordinary spaces, care for the subject's concerns was more clearly expressed in the last years of Eugenius' papacy. What was novel about Eugenius is that his care attain a spatial dimension. However minor they might appear to the modern eye, his actions would have been clearly perceived in the center of the city. We cannot know if such actions stopped Porcari from rebelling against Eugenius, as he did it in several occasions against Nicholas V. But,

perhaps Eugenius understood more noticeable that if he was to restore his power he needed to communicate his care for the citizens – to communicate it not through the monumental, as Nicholas did, but through the ordinary streets, infrastructure, and commercial spaces. Eugenius’ spatialization of care perhaps can be seen as a technique of security in its own right. Because, Eugenius perhaps understood something that lies at the very root of the word ‘security’, that “without care there can be no thought of security,” as historian John T. Hamilton has recently argued. As Hamilton has reminded us, in his recent philological investigation, security emerges as intrinsically connected with the ambiguity of care. The latinate *securitas*, he states, emerges from three distinct features: the prefix *sē-* establishing that which is apart, aside, or away from; the ambiguous noun *cura*, which equally refers to care and attention, but also to concern or worry; and the suffix *-tas*, denoting a state of being²³⁰. In other words, *securitas*, with its etymological root, emerges as the state of being either removed from care, or free of concerns. Security needs to deal with the ambiguity of care/concern. As Machiavelli put it: “if he [the prince] is hated by the people, all the fortresses in the world will not save him”.²³¹ What is clear is that security needs to be cultivated from within the city, through its spaces, through the manner in which these spaces affect everyday life and the perception of power.

As questions of security became more important to the construction of the modern state, it became more important that security also be constructed from within. Whether intentional or not, what Eugenius discovered was a technique of exercising early modern power through addressing the everyday needs of the people. While the Renaissance has been seen as a period of monumentality and magnificence, a period of lavish expenditure, it can also be seen as a period of pavement, construction and infrastructure. It can also be seen as a period of the beauty of the utilitarian, just as Piranesi would insist centuries after Eugenius. In this way, we can understand magnificence not only as the management of wealth but also as the management of security, and more importantly the management of the subject’s care.

¹ Hamilton, John T. *Security: Politics, Humanity, and the Philology of Care*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 5.

² Ibid., p. 299

³ Flavio Biondo praises Giuseppe Brivio (Joseph Bripius) in his *Italy Illustrated*. He states: “Giuseppe Brivio, an expert in sacred and secular learning, is another ornament of his Milanese homeland”. Biondo, Flavio. *Italy Illuminated. Books V–VIII Vol. 2*. Tr. by Jeffrey A. White. 2016, pp. 43, 67, 278. For a general account of his life see: Miglio, M. *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani. DBI. Volume 14*. Roma: Istituto Della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1972, 355–358.

⁴ “*Consulo item, vicechryste pater, sit pre arcibus una / Arx statuenda tibi, nullo expugnabilis unquam / Tempore, civis amor; qui fortior omnibus extat / Arcibus, ut nulle valeant sine amore virorum / Arces stare diu; probat experientia quorum / Firma fides et amor stat inexpugnabile castrum*”. Bripius, Joseph. “Confromatio Curie Romane.” In *Documenti Relativi a Stefano Porcari*. Compiled by Oreste Tommasini. Roma: Società Romana di Storia Patria, 1879. Verses 346 to 351. Translated by Jeremy Withers.

⁵ Westfall, Carroll William. *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447–55*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974, pp. 63–84.

⁶ In the later sections I will expand on the history of the concept of magnificence, but for an example of the use of magnificence as an expression of power see Fraser Jenkins, A D. “Cosimo De’ Medici’s Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* / ed E H Gombrich (1970): 162–170.

⁷ For the origins of this discourse, see: Brown, Peter. *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012. And for the discourse in the early quattrocento in Florence, see: Howard, Peter Francis. *Creating Magnificence in Renaissance Florence*. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012.

⁸ Here I am borrowing from the title of Flavio Biondo’s work, which was dedicated to Eugenius IV and of which more will be said in the following sections.

⁹ Aristotle. *The Nicomachean Ethics*. Edited by W D Ross and Lesley Brown. Oxford; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2009, [1167a] Book IX, p. 170.

¹⁰ Burke, Peter. “Façades.” *The London review of Books* 3, no. 21 (1981): 23–34.

¹¹ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit. See Prodi’s argument against that of Caravale, Mario, and Alberto Caracciolo, in their *Lo Stato Pontificio Da Martino V a Pio IX*. Torino: UTET, 1978.

¹² Fraser J, A D. “Cosimo De’ Medici’s Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence.” Op. cit., pp. 162–170.

¹³ Burroughs, Charles. “Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography: Streets in the Rome of Sixtus V.” In *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*. Edited by Zeynep Çelik, Diane G Favro, and Richard Ingersoll. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, p. 190.

¹⁴ Vespasiano, da Bisticci. *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*. Translated by Myron P Gilmore. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

¹⁵ Tafuri, M. “*Cives Esse Non Licere*” in *Patronage*. Op. cit. And, Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit.

¹⁶ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit.

¹⁷ Tafuri, M. *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., p. 27.

¹⁸ Here I am specifically referring to the *maestri della strada*, and the treasury, which were previously communal institutions. They will be introduced properly later.

¹⁹ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., pp. 85–103.

²⁰ Gill, Joseph. *Eugenius IV, Pope of Christian Union*. Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1961.

²¹ Schmitt, C. *Political Theology*. Op. cit., p. 36

²² Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., viii.

²³ Two decrees confirmed their superiority over the pope: *Sacrosanta* and *Frequens*. In the first year of Eugenius' rule, there was a Council that had been scheduled by his predecessor, the Council of Basel, in relation to which Eugenius showed signs of indifference. For many, Eugenius' attitude symbolized his lack of intention to reform the church. This series of assumptions, mingled with the territorial wars of the time, divided the Council. Those that supported the absolute authority of the pope went as far as rejecting Eugenius IV and appointing a new antipope, Felix V. In a convoluted series of events, Eugenius IV managed to reclaim his absolute supremacy over the Council. This is the victory that Joseph Gill describes.

²⁴ For a detailed account of the role of Eugenius in the Council see: Stieber, Joachim W. *Pope Eugenius IV, the Council of Basel and the Secular and Ecclesiastical Authorities in the Empire: The Conflict Over Supreme Authority and Power in the Church*. Leiden: Brill, 1978. More will be said below of the tumultuous history of Eugenius. For now, it is crucial to remember that Eugenius' authority was not only challenged internally by the Conciliar movement also went so far as to destitute him from his post and appointing a new antipope, Felix V. Eugenius' universal power was also threatened by the Greek Orthodox Churches (Greeks, Armenians, Copts) and his territorial stability at the hands of the geopolitical interests of the time. As if this was not enough, Eugenius was also at odds with the seigneurial feudal power in Rome, especially with the powerful Colonna family, the same family that it is believed backed a republican uprising in 1434, which forced Eugenius IV into a forced exile from Rome for most of his rule. While Eugenius IV came to a truce with the Colonna family, the rivalry among the prominent families in Rome never went away.

²⁵ See Westfall, Tafuri, Burroughs.

²⁶ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 54. Among the administrative "tools of modernization" described by Prodi consider the following: "parish registers for births, marriages and deaths, the organization of sacramental visiting, of catechism classes for children, and the new public help systems such as the foundation of great hospitals for beggars and other charitable institutions—and with those more specifically in charge of the control of media of thought and print, of schools and universities, and also—to give more marginal, but possibly not entirely negligible examples proof of the construction of the modern State—with the organization of public accounting and of the archive system, and the definition of the role of the notary public."

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 42. This lack of clarity naturally causes Prodi to focus his attention on Eugenius' successor Nicholas V. He states: "If the results are still unclear in the period of Eugenius IV (1431–47), too tightly constricted between conciliarism and the citizens' and seigneurial feudal autonomies, the features of the pope-king are quite visible in his successor Nicholas V (Tomasso Parentucelli, 1447–55)."

³² Ibid., p. 160.

³³ Ullmann, Walter. "Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele." In: *The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages*. London: Variorum Press, 1976, pp. 359–383. Originally written in 1961.

³⁴ Ullmann also tells us that this dispute between the rights of the pope and cardinals was also instigated by Eugenius IV's dismissal of his "papal electoral pact". In other words, Eugenius disregarded the pact he made with the cardinals prior to his election.

³⁵ Ullmann, Walter. *The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1976, pp. 369–370. Additionally, Walter Ullmann tell us that nowhere in the Bull does Eugenius "... cherished cardinalian argument with a 'democratic' flavor, namely that the College of Cardinals represented the whole Church, representing the *congregatio fidelium*... In fact, far from partaking in the pope's government, the cardinals are merely assistants of the pope..."

³⁶ Ullmann, Walter, and George Garnett. *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2003, pp. 200–217. Originally published in 1972.

³⁷ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. vii. In relation to the structural change, see p. 107. In relation to their courtly ceremonies, see: pp. 46–47

³⁸ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 4.

³⁹ Vespasiano, B. *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*. Op. cit.

⁴⁰ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 42. Italics my emphasis.

- ⁴¹ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 4.
- ⁴² Westfall, Carroll William, and Tafuri, Manfredo. *L'invenzione Della Città: La Strategia Urbana Di Nicolò V E Alberti Nella Roma Del '400*. Roma: NIS, 1984.
- ⁴³ Jedin, Hubert. *A History of the Council of Trent*. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co, 1957, p. 20.
- ⁴⁴ Westfall, C W, and Tafuri, M. *L'invenzione Della Città*. Op. cit.
- ⁴⁵ The Bull *Etsi de cunctarum*, or *Etsi in cunctarum orbis*, has been transcribed in the original Latin and with an Italian translation in: D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento: La Città Degli Umanisti*. Roma: Romano Società Editrice, 1989, pp. 17–18.
- ⁴⁶ This was a clear transition in procedures on the part of Martin V. While in a mandate of 1423 the pope “asked the Conservators to confirm the officials’ oath and to replace them with other *Maestri* when they thought fit” in 1425 Martin V “present[ed] himself as the city’s sole guardian.” McCahill, Elizabeth M. *Reviving the Eternal City: Rome and the Papal Court, 1420–1447*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2013, p. 36. However, the involvement of the pope in the affairs of the maestri has been debated. For a different reading, one in which Martin V seems to give authority to the maestri to designate the fate of the ruins of Rome without the consent of the papal administration, see: Karmon, David E. *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2011, p. 65.
- ⁴⁷ Burroughs, Charles. *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990, p. 91. Here he is particularly referring to the concordat reached between Eugenius IV and the Romans effective from August 30, 1446.
- ⁴⁸ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 77. This is not to say that Westfall does not provide accurate details – in fact, the opposite is the case. However, his interpretation tends to reduce the importance of this issue of papal primacy. In fact, most of the evidence he provides of the intervention of papal power in the commune is presented as simply circumstantial.
- ⁴⁹ Tafuri, M. *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., p. 25.
- ⁵⁰ Burckhardt, Jacob. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. London, England; New York, N.Y., USA: Penguin Books, 1990, p. 125.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., p. 82. If Burckhardt makes note of Eugenius it is simply to introduce the work of humanists under his auspices, such as Flavio Biondo, or the danger that threatened the Papal States under Eugenius IV.
- ⁵² Ludwig von Pastor’s (1854–1828) masterwork is widely considered to be his *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*. It is important to note that Pastor’s work, as a Catholic, differs directly from the previous history of the papacy by the Protestant historian Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886).
- ⁵³ Toews, John B. “Formative Forces in the Pontificate of Nicholas V, 1447–1455.” *The Catholic Historical Review* 54, no. 2 (1968): 262.
- ⁵⁴ Dehio, Georg. *Die Bauprojecte Nicolaus Des Fünften Und L. B. Alberti*. Stuttgart: Spemann, 1880.
- ⁵⁵ Two crucial articles by Giedion were published in 1952 that mark a paradigmatic moment in architectural historiography. See: “Space and the Elements of the Renaissance City” and “Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome.”
- ⁵⁶ See the tenth printing (third edition), part II and VI of Giedion, S. *Space, Time and Architecture*. Op. cit., pp., 55–107, 499–517, 542–615.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 100.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 76.
- ⁵⁹ Richardson, Carol M. *Reclaiming Rome Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009, p. 419.
- ⁶⁰ Tafuri, M. *Theories and History of Architecture*. Op. cit., p. 153.
- ⁶¹ I am partly drawing this conclusion from the analysis of Tafuri’s relation to Alberti by Andrew Leach, see: Leach, Andrew. *Manfredo Tafuri: Choosing History*. Ghent, Belgium: A&S Books, Department of Architecture and Urban Planning, Ghent University, 2007, p. 77.

⁶² Tafuri, M. *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., p. 56.

⁶³ Alberti served as papal abbreviator from around 1430 to 1437.

⁶⁴ Hay, Denys. *Renaissance Essays*. London: Hambledon Press, 1988, pp. 35–63

⁶⁵ McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., p. 14.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ For an analysis of the Filarete door see: Glass, Robert. "Filarete's Hilaritas: Claiming Authorship and Status on the Doors of St. Peter's." *The Art Bulletin*, ed. John Shapley, 94, no. 4 (2012): 548–571. Glass, Robert. "Filarete's Renovation of the Porta Argentea at Old Saint Peter's." In *Old Saint Peter's, Rome*. Edited by Rosamond McKitterick, et al. 2013, pp. 348–370. For a general account of the artistic endeavors of Eugenius IV see: McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., pp. 168–198.

⁶⁸ Glass, Robert. "Filarete and the Invention of the Renaissance Medal." In *The Medal*, British Art Medal Trust, Fédération Internationale de la Médaille (2015): 26–37. And Seymour, Charles. *Sculpture in Italy: 1400–1500*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966, p. 118.

⁶⁹ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 9.

⁷⁰ Westfall's account makes the clearest characterization of Eugenius as medieval. A more recent account of Eugenius IV by Elizabeth McCahill embraces the liminality of Eugenius' turbulent times. "It argues that Rome between 1420 and 1447 was a hotbed of initiatives that borrowed from the city's medieval legacy and also presaged its Renaissance future". McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., pp. 13–14.

⁷¹ McCahill states: "the reforms championed by Eugenius resonate with the spirituality of late medieval and Counter-Reformation saints". McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., pp. 112.

⁷² Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 80–89. See specifically his assessment of the role of Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan.

⁷³ Stieber, J W. *Pope Eugenius IV*. Op. cit.

⁷⁴ Vespasiano, B. *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*. Op. cit. Ibid., p. 31. Vespasian was a leading Florentine bookseller whose short biographies of the most important literary figures of his time, has considered his role similar to that of Giorgio Vasari.

⁷⁵ Quoted from: Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., pp. 169–170.

⁷⁶ See Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 1.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 114. It is important to remember that while Eugenius IV came to a truce with the Colonna family, the rivalry among the prominent families in Italy never went away. It instead indicated the agonistic and non-dynastic nature of papal power.

⁷⁷ Quoted from: Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., pp. 169–170.

⁷⁸ These remarks are particularly relevant in relation to Westfall's account, which he supports with the assessment of Eugenius by a minor humanist from the curia, Maffeo Vegio. According to Westfall, Veggie said that "the subject of the doors was the great and outstanding deeds and actions of Eugenius." Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 15.

⁷⁹ The first census recorded closer to Eugenius is that of 1527, before the sack of Rome when the city had 53,689 people. Any attempt to provide a number of inhabitants for Rome prior to that date is simply an estimate. However, it is believed that at the turn of the fifteenth century Rome had 25,000 people, and at the end of Eugenius' papacy from 30,000 to 35,000. Guidi Bruscoli, Francesco. *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome: Benvenuto Olivieri and Paul III, 1534–1549*. Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007, p. 2

⁸⁰ Tafuri highlights the disdain of Alberti: in "*Monus*, that he directs at Jupiter, the restless planner of projects remarkable for their magnificence...". This disdain of Alberti, Tafuri argues, has parallels with the critique of the Church by Lorenzo Valla, who rejected the Church's subjection of its own people. Tafuri argues: "Critiques of power, the celebration of primitive Christianity, the denunciation of pomp and immense, self-justifying enterprises unite the two thinkers, differences of circumstance notwithstanding..." Tafuri, M. *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., p. 49.

⁸¹ Three main sources provide details of the use of funds by Eugenius: Corbo, Anna Maria. *Artisti E Artigiani in Roma Al Tempo Di Martino V E Di Eugenio IV*. Roma: De Luca, 1969. Müntz, Eugène. *Les Arts À La Cour Des Papes. Pendant Le XVe Et Le XVIe Siècle Première Partie, Première Partie*. Paris: E. Thorin, 1878. And Paschini, Pio. *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo, 1465*. Romae: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1939.

⁸² This was the case first of Cardinal Vitelleschi, the pope-chamberlain, who was first appointed to re-establish order in Rome and then was condemned for his violent procedures, and then of his replacement, Cardinal Lodovico, who is also known as Cardinal Scarampa. See: Law, John E. "Giovanni Vitelleschi: 'prelato guerriero'." *Renaissance Studies* (1998): 40–66. And Paschini, P. *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo*. Op. cit.

⁸³ See for example the decree of April 6, 1437, in which Eugenius decrees the repopulation of the Vatican Borgo, or the decree of 1436 which decreed against the pillage of religious edifices. Theiner, Augustin. *Codex Diplomaticus. Domini Temporalis S. Sedis. Recueil De Documents Pour Servir À L'histoire Du Gouvernement Temporel Des États Du Saint-Siège. Extraits Des Archives Du Vatican*. 3 vols. Rome: Imprimerie du Vatican, vol. 3. 1862, p. 338.

⁸⁴ This was also the reaction of those working with the archival material at the Vatican. See, for example, the chapter on Eugenius IV in: Müntz, E. *Les Arts À La Cour Des Papes*. Op. cit.

⁸⁵ In 1440 Eugenius IV appointed Cardinal Ludovico Trevisan as pope-chamberlain, to replace the brutal Cardinal Vitelleschi "as effective ruler of the lands of the Church, and continued his program of reducing recalcitrant communities and lords to obedience. He showed particular concern for the condition of Rome, appointing officials with responsibility for the maintenance of public order and the upkeep of the urban environment". Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 87

⁸⁶ "Martin V had been somewhat of a tyrant towards his cardinals. As a reaction, at the beginning of a new election these drew up a "capitulation" which they all agreed on oath to observe if they should be elected pope". Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., p. 39.

⁸⁷ On October 26, 1431, "Eugenius issue bull 'In eminenti sedis apostolicae specula' which dealt with the function of the College of Cardinals". Ullmann, W. *"Eugenius IV, Cardinal Kemp, and Archbishop Chichele."* Op. cit., pp. 368. Originally written in 1961.

⁸⁸ Bilderback, Loy. "Eugenius IV and the First Dissolution of the Council of Basle." *Church History* 36, no. 03 (1967).

⁸⁹ Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., p. 40.

⁹⁰ The papal legate, Julian Cesarini, who was representing the pope at the Council, also lead a crusade in Germany against the Hussites. In attempting to resolve the two issues at once he invited the Hussites to negotiate within the framework of the Council of Basle. This negotiation was, however, without the consultation of Eugenius, who attempted to dissolve the Council upon hearing about it.

⁹¹ To suppress the Council, a crucial document was issued by Eugenius which provides a picture of Eugenius' chaotic start with the Council of Basle. First issued in November 12, 1431, *Quoniam alto*, represented Eugenius' attempt to dissolve the Council. A second amendment was issued on December 18, 1431. For the details of these documents and the influence they had, see: Bilderback, Loy. "Eugenius IV and the First Dissolution of the Council of Basle." Op. cit., p. 246.

⁹² Issue of papal permit 'marmorius' to survey the marble remaining in the ancient walls. The papal permit was issued on October 10, 1431, to Filippo di Giovanni di Pisa, under the heading 'marmorius'. Spring, Peter William Herbert. "The Topographical and Archaeological Study of the Antiquities of the City of Rome, 1420–1447." Unpublished PhD, 1972, p. 382. Compared to the actions of his predecessor Martin V: see especially Martin V's confusing position in regard to the materials of old churches. In 1423 he threatened with ex-communication those that stole the remains of Rome's churches, but in 1426 he allowed the "removal of blocks of marble from the area of the Basilica Julia in the Forum". See: Richardson, C M. *Reclaiming Rome Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Op. cit., p. 179

⁹³ Müntz, E. *Les Arts À La Cour Des Papes*. Op. cit., p. 51. General repairs to city walls of 1433.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 49. Repairs to the dormitories of Santa Maria Minerva of 1431.

⁹⁵ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 148. "Maintenance of the garden continued; in 1433 Eugenius paid a "keeper of the garden of the holy palace".

⁹⁶ Müntz, E. *Les Arts À La Cour Des Papes*. Op. cit., pp. 50–51.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 50

⁹⁸ Eugenius reinstated stadium urbis in 1431. For the wider history of the role of the university in Rome, see: Cherubini, Paolo. "Roma E Lo Studium Urbis: Spazio Urbano E Cultura Dal Quattro Al Seicento." Roma: Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1992, pp. 69–87, 88–100.

⁹⁹ Grendler, Paul F. *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002, pp. 57–58.

¹⁰⁰ It was originally located in Trastevere. The actual edifice does not relate to the building that would have been on the site during Eugenius' times.

¹⁰¹ Bedon, Anna. *Il Palazzo Della Sapienza Di Roma*. Roma: R.R.inedita, 4, 1991, p.11. She suggests that most probably it would have been in the premises of the then chapel for SS. Leone e Fortunato, located in then Via de Jacovacci degli Staderarii.

¹⁰² On the plans of Leo X for the University of Rome see: Tafuri, Manfredo. 'The Princeps Christianus: Leo X and the New Rome' in *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., pp. 69–77.

¹⁰³ "Between September of 1472 and December of 1474, the gabella studii contributed at least 2,652 florins toward the repair of the Aqua Verging and the Trevi Fountain. Another 2,663 florins appropriated for the Ponte Sisto constituted the majority of its cost". Blondin, Jill E. "Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV As Urbis Restaurator in Quattrocento Rome." *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (2005), p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁰⁵ See the description of the reception of Martin V by Stefano Infessura (1435–1500). Infessura, Stefano. *Diario Della Città Di Roma Di Stefano Infessura Scribasenato*. Roma: Forzani. 1890, p. 23. "...et per ogni rione si fecero otto giocatori gentilhomini, et folli fatto grannissimo honore; et li conservatori et li caporioni con molto cittadini di Roma parecchie sere si givano colle torcie in mano accese, la sera sempre dicendo: "viva papa Martino, viva papa Martino".

¹⁰⁶ Eugenius IV's paternal family were originally merchants, raised to the status of nobles due to their role in the battle of Chioggia (1381). His maternal family was related to Pope Gregory XII, who was the brother of Bariola, Eugenius' mother. With the support of the latter, at a very early age he was appointed to important posts in the curial which would have granted a considerable revenue. On the other hand, from his deceased father he received an ample fortune. Gill argues that Eugenius gave most of his fortune to the poor. However, while he had enough opportunities to enjoy the revenues of the See, he remained somewhat indifferent to them. Among the early posts of Eugenius IV we can name first that of Protonotary Apostolic, Treasurer (second in charge of finance), and then, before turning 25 years old, he was pronounced Bishop of Siena under Gregory XII (born Angelo Corrado, reigned 1406 to 1415). On January 28 1409, he appointed Condulmaro vicar of Constantinople. As Joseph Gill reminds us, the revenues here were considerable. In relation to other popes of his time, the life of Eugenius IV remained somewhat constrained. Perhaps this was modeled after his time in the monastery during his early years, especially in the monastery of S. Giorgio di Alga, where he enjoyed a life of spiritual solitude. See: Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., pp. 17–37. And Richardson, C M. *Reclaiming Rome Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Op. cit., p. 370, fn. 133.

¹⁰⁷ In 1347, with the pope in Avignon, Cola di Renzo launched a symbolic campaign that aimed at installing in Rome a people's tribune. Rienzo was subversive in his methods: he devised an almost theatrical performance in the Lateran immediately following the High Mass on White Sunday, where he presented to the populace the rediscovered bronze plate of the *lex regia*. In a dramatic speech, Cola di Rienzo insisted in the importance of public power and declared himself *Miles Nicolaus* (Knight Nicholas), in reference to the military connotations of the ancient Roman tribune. Although short lived, this episode was symbolic in mobilizing the populace and visualizing the possible reach and instrumentation of the ancient laws. Note that for many scholars the inscriptions of Cola's tablets do not correspond to the *lex regia*, but to the *lex de imperio* of Vespasian. "The *lex regia* supposedly granted all the powers of the people to the emperor in one fell swoop (regardless of revocability)—and I say "supposedly" for we have no older source for it than the *Corpus iuris civilis* of Justinian, in which it is cited as "ancient law". The *lex de imperio*, on the other hand, grants only specific privileges to an individual emperor (Vespasian), as they had been granted specifically to several of his predecessors. It is not a general conferral of power." Benes, Carrie E. Cola di Rienzo and the *lex regia*. Viator. 1999. pp. 249. For the general context see: Ullmann, Walter. *Medieval Foundations of Renaissance Humanism*. London: Paul Elek, 1977, pp. 113–138. For the debate on the contents of the tablet, see: Canning, Joseph. *A History of Medieval Political Thought 300–1450*. London: Routledge, 1996. pp. 5–9

¹⁰⁸ See Skinner, Quentin. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought. Vol. 1*, Op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁰⁹ Eugenius arrived in Florence on May 29, 1434. He remained at Santa Maria Novella until April 1436. "He returned when the Council of Union was moved to Florence in 1439. Eugenius left for Siena, then Rome in 1443." Manetti, Giannozzo. *Building the Kingdom: Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice*. Edited by Christine Hunnikin Smith and Joseph F O'Connor. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006, p. 333.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 334.

¹¹¹ Ibid., pp. 307.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 31–50.

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 344. “It was 2 breccia high and 4 wide. Belcari stated the height accurately, and Giovanni di Ser Cambi and Leonardo Bruni accurately reported its width”.

¹¹⁴ Vespasiano. *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*. Op. cit., p. 23.

¹¹⁵ Manetti, G. *Building the Kingdom*. Op. cit., pp. 31–50.

¹¹⁶ See above for the role of Cardinal Vitelleschi, who was in charge of Rome during Eugenius’ absence. Vitelleschi was known as a Cardinal warrior who was brutal in his reestablishment of order in Rome, but whose actions were, nonetheless, favored by the populace.

¹¹⁷ Theiner, A. *Codex Diplomaticus*. Op. cit., p. 338.

¹¹⁸ Estimated date based on events. Lanciani, however, writes that, in a contradictory way, he believes that Eugenius IV “used stones from the Coliseum... in the restoration of the apse of St. John Lateran, and marbles from the Curia and the Forum Juliu in the restoration of the Apostolic palace”. Lanciani, Rodolfo Amedeo. *The Destruction of Ancient Rome: A Sketch of the History of the Monuments*. London: Macmillan Co, 1903, p. 207.

¹¹⁹ The first census recorded closer to Eugenius is that of 1527, before the sack of Rome, when the city had 53,689 people. Any attempt to provide a number of inhabitants for Rome prior to that date is simply an estimate. However, it is believed that at the turn of the fifteenth century Rome had 25,000 people, and at the end of Eugenius’ papacy the figure was 30,000 to 35,000. Guidi B. *Papal Banking in Renaissance Rome*. Op. cit., p. 2

¹²⁰ On April 6, 1437, Eugenius IV ratified a decree to repopulate Vatican Borgo, “which had fallen entirely to ruin under the raids of King Ladislaus.” Ipsaeque domus ipsius Burgi quasi totaliter sint destructae et annihilatae, ac ab ear, alias inhabitantibus derelictae: Bullar. Vat. li 92. Gregorovius, Ferdinand, et al. *Rome and Medieval Culture: Selections from History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971, p. 662.

¹²¹ Müntz, E. *Les Arts À La Cour Des Papes*. Op. cit. T. XXIV, pp. 1129–1130.

¹²² With the Death of Queen Giovanna II of Naples in 1435 the issue of his succession gave rise to political and territorial questions. Another crucial supporter of the antipope Felix V was Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, future Pope Pius II, who became one of Felix V secretaries. Between 1443 and 1444 Aeneas departed from the ideas of the Council and instead campaigned for the recognition of Eugenius IV as legitimate pope. For a summary of his role in the Council of Basle, see: Stieber, J W. *Pope Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., pp. 271–272. For his shift of interests and the transition from serving the conciliarist cause to that of Frederick III, see: Toews, John B. “The view of Empire in Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II).” *Traditio* 24 (1968): 471–487.

¹²³ See: July 6, 1439. Union with the Greek Orthodox church. Bull: Laetentur Caeli, November 22, 1439. Union with Armenians, Bull: Exultate Deo, The Union with the Copts did not occur until February 4, 1442. Bull: Cantate Domino. February 4, 1442. September 4, 1439, Eugenius Bull “Moyses vir”, in which he denied the power of the councils.

¹²⁴ Jedin, H. *A History of the Council of Trent*. Op. cit., p. 19.

¹²⁵ Richardson, C M. *Reclaiming Rome Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Ibid., p. 81. She notes that this form of promotion was introduced as a “revolution of major importance in the history of the Church” by Francis A. Burkley-Young.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 82. “Of the seventeen promotions he made in December 1439, most went to representatives of the powers whose loyalty he wished to reward or secure: these included senior members of the Burgundian, English, French, Genoese, Hungarian, Milanese, Polish, and Portuguese courts, as well as two members of the Greek party at the Council of Ferrara/Florence: Bessarion and Isidore”.

¹²⁷ Related to this alliance, on June 2, 1442, Alfonso V of Aragon made his triumphal entry into Naples.

¹²⁸ See: McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., p. 75.

¹²⁹ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 4. The Donation was a sort of gift offered to pope Sylvester I (ruled 314–335) by Roman Emperor Constantine. It has been suggested by Westfall that one symbolic repercussion of this gift was the construction of S. Giovanni Laterano on the same site where Constantine's palace used to stand in Rome. For a modern translation of Valla's oration see: Valla, Lorenzo. *On the Donation of Constantine*. Tr by Glen Warren Bowersock. London: Harvard University Press, 2008. And for the wider impact of Lorenzo Valla's oration see: Ginzburg, Carlo. "Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine." In *History, Rhetoric, and Proof*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 55–70. It is important to remember the clarification that Tafuri, following W Ullmann, made in regard to the date the forgery was exposed. Tafuri states: "to be sure, the Donation of Constantine was exposed as a forgery as early as 964 by John the Deacon (otherwise known as John the Fingerless), on whose urging the Emperor Otto III revoked the spurious claim granting Pope Sylvester eight districts in the Marches by imperial fiat". Tafuri, Manfredo. *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., p. 26

¹³⁰ Elden, Stuart. *The Birth of Territory*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 2013, p. 135.

¹³¹ Magnuson, Torgil. *The Urban Transformation of Medieval Rome, 312–1420*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Rome, 2004, p. 150.

¹³² The Bull *Etsi de cunctarum*, or, *Etsi in cunctarum orbis*, has been transcribed in the original Latin, and with an Italian translation, in: D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., pp. 17–18.

¹³³ For the crucial role of the maestri di strade, see the reforms of 1452 of Nicholas V, and those under Sixtus V. For a general overview see: Re, Emilio. *Maestri Di Strada*. Roma: R. Società Romana di storia patria, 1920.

¹³⁴ For the clearest systematization of information by Biondo refer instead to his *Roma Triumphans*, which, according to Arnaldo Momigliano, could be considered as a model distinct from history by which to survey Rome; Biondo presented it as a fourfold classification: public, private, sacred and military. Momigliano, Arnaldo. "Ancient History and the Antiquarian." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* / ed. E H Gombrich (1950): 285–315. For the literary context of Flavio Biondo, see: McCahill, E M. "Rewriting Vergil, Rereading Rome: Maffeo Vegio, Poggio Bracciolini, Flavio Biondo, and Early Quattrocento Antiquarianism." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 54 (2009): 165–199.

¹³⁵ Spring, P. "The Topographical and Archaeological Study of the Antiquities of the City of Rome, 1420–1447." Op. cit., pp. 312–359.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 405. Biondo provided an apology for not commenting on the most dense sections of Rome that were inhabited at the time—and most probably built upon ruins. Yet Spring suggests that Biondo's omission "reveals something of Biondo's essentially blinkered approach to topographical investigation."

¹³⁷ Karmon, D. E. *The Ruin of the Eternal City*. Op. cit., p. 18.

¹³⁸ Biondo's account belongs within an emerging body of surveys of Rome that, in their systematic method, departed drastically from the medieval accounts of Rome that followed the traditional format of the *Mirabilia*. As opposed to the latter, which remained anecdotal, empirical, fragmentary and largely nostalgic about the role that Rome once had, the emerging accounts were intellectual endeavors. Among these we locate Biondo's *Roma Instaurata*, but also those of Poggio Bracciolini's *De Variegata Fortuna* (*Vicissitudes of Fortune*, ca. 1431–1448), and the analytical survey of Leon Battista Alberti's *Description urbis Romae* (*Delineation of the City of Rome*, around the 1440s). All of these were related to the papal curia and most probably knew each other's works.

¹³⁹ Law, J E. "Giovanni Vitelleschi". Op. cit., pp. 40–66.

¹⁴⁰ See the analysis of the palace he built in Corneto, as analyzed in relation to the emergence of palaces in Rome, in: Westfall, Carroll William. "Alberti and the Vatican Palace Type." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians / Society of Architectural Historians* (1974): 101–121

¹⁴¹ For accounts on the crucial role of Cardinal Lodovico see: Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., pp. 74–76. Paschini, P. *Lodovico Cardinal Camerlengo*, op. cit. Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., pp. 87–91.

¹⁴² Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 87, fn. 32–p. 264. Burroughs reminds us that this figure has been referred to erroneously as Cardinal Scarampo.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 87. The official title of this post was "murorum et ceterorum edificiorum publicorum custos sive officialis." This post had a precedent under the papacy of Martin V, however it was only here that his actions were to affect the city consistently.

¹⁴⁴ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 73.

¹⁴⁵ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., fn. 32–p. 264. “The chief secondary source on Trevisan (in older literature erroneously referred to as Scarpino) is Paschini’s monograph of 1939. This is not cited by Westfall, though it is an excellent source for the period 1440–1447. This omission may explain Westfall’s lack of attention to Trevisan, and his emphasis on the role of Astorgio Agnese, created governor of Rome in 1442 and vice-chamberlain in 1444 (Westfall 1874, 74 n.36). But Agnese was clearly subordinate to Trevisan, whose role is documented, e.g., in the quittance granted him by Nicholas soon after the latter’s accession (Paschini 1939, 146).”

¹⁴⁶ “By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the city was divided into the thirteen iron which remained relatively unchanged thereafter. These thirteen iron have been added to as the city has expanded since the nineteenth century. They are: I Monti, II Trevi, III Colonna, IV Campo Marzio, V Ponte, VI Parione, VII Arenula, VIII Sant’ Eustachio, IX Pigna, X Campitelli, XI Sant’ Angelo, XII Ripa, XII Trastevere was added slightly later, while the Borgo, the area between the Vatican and the river which is outside the city proper, was not added to the system until 1586 when it became the fourteenth iron. These had little to do with the *regiones* of the Emperor Augustus, who had divided Rome into fourteen administrative districts.” Richardson, C M. *Reclaiming Rome Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Op. cit., p. 191.

¹⁴⁷ Note that this is one among three streets mentioned in the statutes to the maestri di strada under Nicholas in 1452: “le tre strade principali, cioè da Ponte in sino Santo Angelo [Pellegrino], et da ponte in sino ad Campidoglio [Papale], et da ponte in sino alla Magdalena [Coronari].” Re, E. *Maestri Di Strada*. Op.cit., p. 101. Connors, Joseph. “Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism.” *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* (1989): p. 211.

¹⁴⁸ Modigliani, Anna. “L’area Di Piazza Navona Tra Medioevo E Rinascimento: Usi Sociali, Mercantili, Cerimoniali.” *Collection de l’Ecole française de Rome* 493 (2014), pp. 486–487. This corresponds to a route of around 2.5 km connecting today’s Ponte Palatino, then via Portico D’ottavia, Via dei Giubbonari and Via del Pellegrino, all the way to Ponte Sant’Angelo. It is crucial to note that Modigliani gives the authorship of these interventions to Cardinal Scarpino, who, in following Burroughs, I have presented as Trevisan. Modigliani also emphasizes that the impact of these interventions would have lasted for a long time as they were consolidated years later under the statutes of reform in Rome of Paul II’s papacy, called *reformationes*.

¹⁴⁹ Francesco Condulmer was appointed cardinal in 1431 by Eugenius IV. As such, his appointment as cardinal nephew would have been directly assigned by the pope. While it was becoming a customary practice, the question of nepotism remains opened. It is important to remember that, originally, the appointment of cardinals was restricted to the College of Cardinals. However, increasingly the power invested in the college came under the control of the pope. It was through this appointment that popes increasingly found the support which enabled them to execute their most crucial works of power. Perhaps for this reason, some have referred to this post as similar to what today we might refer to as a ‘prime minister’. For more on the shifting role of the College of Cardinals and the role of cardinal nephew, see: Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., pp. 92–95.

¹⁵⁰ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁵¹ Lefebvre, Henri. “The Specificity of the City.” In *Writings on Cities*. Edited by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, p. 102.

¹⁵² Modigliani, A. “L’area Di Piazza Navona Tra Medioevo E Rinascimento” Op.cit.

¹⁵³ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 88.

¹⁵⁴ Ceen, Allan. “The Quartiere De’ Banchi: Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento.” Ph. D. University of Pennsylvania 1977. Outstanding dissertations in the Fine Arts Series. New York: Garland Pub. 1986.

¹⁵⁵ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁵⁶ Vespasiano. *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates*. Op. cit., p.31.

¹⁵⁷ Modigliani, Anna. *Mercati, Botteghe E Spazi Di Commercio a Roma Tra Medioevo Ed Età Moderna*. Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento, 1998, p. 179.

¹⁵⁸ Crucial here are the regulatory contributions: those of Sixtus IV, who in his papal bull of 1480 *Amplificatio Jurisdictionis*, famously stipulated the alignment of streets, and the principles of public expropriation of private property that made the regularizations possible. Also, those of Gregory XIII, in 1574, in his decree *De aedificis*.

¹⁵⁹ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 88. Most of the account that follows is indebted to his detailed and scrupulous scholarship.

¹⁶⁰ Marder, Tod Allan. “Alexander VII, Bernini, and the Urban Setting of the Pantheon in the Seventeenth Century.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (1991): p. 273.

¹⁶¹ Richardson, C M. *Reclaiming Rome Cardinals in the Fifteenth Century*. Op. cit., p. 150.

¹⁶² Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes, From the Close of the Middle Ages*. London: Kegan Paul, v.1. 1899, p. 361
See as well: Thuno, Erik. "The Pantheon in the Middle Ages." In *The Pantheon: From Antiquity to the Present*. Edited by Tod A Marder and Mark Wilson Jones. 2015.

¹⁶³ See also: Fèa, Carlo. *Annotazioni Alla Memoria Sui Diritti Del Principato Sugli Antichi Edifizj Publici Sacri E Profani*. Roma: Presso Lazzarini, 1806, pp. 39–40.

¹⁶⁴ Quoted from: McCahill, E M. *Reviving the Eternal City*. Op. cit., p. 181. Original in: D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., p. 249.

¹⁶⁵ Quoted from the Italian translation of Biondo's *Roma Instaurata* in: D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., p. 249.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p.266, n. 39. Lanciani, R. *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 204–205. Lanciani includes these streets among "the modern spirit for straight lines" of Eugenius' successors, listing the following: "Nicholas V, Via di S. Celso (now Via de' Banchi); Paul II paved the Corso between the Arco di Portogallo near S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and the Piazza Venezia. Sixtus IV was named "the great builder" (gran fabricatore), on account of the many improvements made under his rule; and Alexander VI carried the Via Alexandrian through the Borgo."

¹⁶⁸ Burroughs, C. *From Signs to Design*. Op. cit., p. 89.

¹⁶⁹ For the history of the projects that followed, see the crucial investigation of the role of Alexander VII, and Bernini in the following accounts: Krautheimer, Richard. *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 104–109, 184–187.

¹⁷⁰ D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., p. 200.

¹⁷¹ This bridge was dismantled in the nineteenth century and replaced with Ponte S. Bartolomeo Ferrato. It is known that the "western fork of the river at the island has always been more destructive, and the Pons Cestius has suffered proportionally". Taylor, Rabun M. *Public Needs and Private Pleasures: Water Distribution, the Tiber River and the Urban Development of Ancient Rome*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2000, p. 142.

¹⁷² Robbins, Deborah King. *A Case Study of Medieval Urban Process Rome's Trastevere (1250–1450)*. PhD dissertation, Berkeley University of California. 1989, pp. 43, 209, 313.

¹⁷³ Please note that there is a large disagreement in respect to the names and dates of these bridges. It is not clear whether the main connection was provided instead by Pons Sublicius. I am taking my conclusions from a recent PhD dissertation by architectural historian Deborah King Robbins.

¹⁷⁴ Robbins, Deborah. "Via Della Lungaretta. The Making of a Medieval Street." In *Streets*. Edited by Zeynep Çelik, et al. Op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁷⁵ Taylor, R M. *Public Needs and Private Pleasures*. Op. cit. pp. 143–144. The competition was among the Antonians and the Octavians, and Masala and Agrippa.

¹⁷⁶ Robbins, D K. *A Case Study of Medieval Urban Process Rome's Trastevere*. Op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 209, 313. See as well: Gregorovius, Op. cit., VII. 1, p. 43.

¹⁷⁸ D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., p. 200. "I quali ponti oggi ha la tua bontà, o. S. padre Eugenio, rifatti et insidiati di pietre tiberine."

¹⁷⁹ Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit., p. 245.

¹⁸⁰ D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., pp. 99–100. First half transcribed with my modifications from the English translation of E. McCahill, p. 174, second half my English translation.

¹⁸¹ Others have interpreted this sober tone as directed to the humble personality of Eugenius. "Biondo... dedicated [Roma Instaurata] to Eugenius without the florid eulogies customary at the time, because probably they would have displeased his patron." Gill, J. *Eugenius IV*. Op. cit., p. 196.

¹⁸² D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., pp. 99–100. My English translation.

¹⁸³ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 160.

¹⁸⁴ This is of course a direct reference to the Donation of Constantine, see above under Valla's account.

¹⁸⁵ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 16.

¹⁸⁶ Toews, John B. "Pope Eugenius IV and the Concordat of Vienna (1448): An Interpretation." *Church History* 34, no. 2 (1965): 178–194.

¹⁸⁷ Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. *The King's Two Bodies : A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957, pp. 194–206, 458.

¹⁸⁸ See his comments on John IX, 1. And note that in the English version the notion of magnificence is more often replaced by astonishment and wonder, see for example: Augustine of Hippo, Saint. *St. Augustine Tractates on the Gospel of John* 28–54. Translated by John W Rettig. Washington DC.: Catholic University of America Press, 1993, p. 175.

¹⁸⁹ Fassler, Margot E. "Helgaud of Fleury and the Liturgical Arts: The Magnification of Robert the Pious." In *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music*. Ed. by C Stephen Jaeger. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. See also The Gospel according to Luke 1: 46–56, "My soul magnifies the Lord".

¹⁹⁰ Concepts like magnificence or glory, just as Agamben argues in the case of glory in *the Kingdom and the Glory*, have been transferred to a different realm of operation.

¹⁹¹ D'Onofrio, C. *Visitiamo Roma Nel Quattrocento*. Op. cit., pp. 99–100.

¹⁹² Le Goff, Jacques. *Money and the Middle Ages: An Essay in Historical Anthropology*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2012, p. 135.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 145. See as well, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 1–2 q. 62, a. 4: 'Charity is the mother of all the virtues, inasmuch as it informs all the virtues'. Note that it would be reductive to translate caritas as our modern concept of charity: its connotation would have also involved spiritual love and friendship.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 127. This is not the place for a broader introduction of the Franciscan distinction complex understanding of use (*simplex usus facti*), its distinction from property and its legal justification. For a wonderful analysis of these relations, see: Agamben, Giorgio. *The Highest Poverty: Monastic Rules and Form-of-life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013.

¹⁹⁵ As Giovanni Morelli advised in his fourteenth-century memoirs of his mercantile and wealthy Florentine family: "Never show off your wealth, but keep it hidden, and always by words and acts make people believe that you possess one half as much as you have; by following this advice you cannot be too badly cheated." Goldthwaite, Richard A. *The Building of Renaissance Florence: An Economic and Social History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980, p. 77.

¹⁹⁶ Aristotle. *The Nichomachean Ethics*. Op. cit., p. 66. Book IV. 2. 20.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 65. Book IV. 2. 5.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 66. Book IV. 2. 15.

¹⁹⁹ Howard, Peter. "Preaching Magnificence in Renaissance Florence." *Renaissance Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (2008): 325–369.

²⁰⁰ Quoted from: Goldthwaite, R. *The Building of Renaissance Florence*. Op. cit., p. 79.

²⁰¹ Welch, Evelyn. "Public Magnificence and Private Display: Giovanni Pontano's "De Splendore" (1498) and the Domestic Arts." *Journal of Design History* 15, no. 4 (2002): 211–221.

²⁰² Manetti, G. *Building the Kingdom*. Op. cit., p. 246.

²⁰³ I am drawing here from Richard A Goldthwaite, who summarized the different voices theorizing magnificence as "the rationalization of luxury, which was otherwise condemned as sinful and unnatural." Goldthwaite, R A. *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2010. p. 207.

²⁰⁴ Burke, Peter. "Façades." *The London review of Books* 3, no. 21 (1981): 23–34.

²⁰⁵ Aristotle. *The Nichomachean Ethics*. Op. cit., p. 66. Book IV. 2. 30.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Just a few words to explain this methodological decision: rather than excavating the contrasting bibliographies of Eugenius on whether he could be considered as pursuing magnificence or not, I have decided to concentrate on deconstructing his works with the use of cartographic records of the time, and as analyzed architecturally in other concepts of magnificence, such as that of Piranesi, which we will mention towards the end of the section. This allows us to avoid what I believe is an unproductive debate which contrasts the different biographers of Eugenius in his time. In a debate of that kind someone like humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), who was also part of Eugenius' papal court, who condemned Eugenius' actions categorically, would be set against accounts such as those of Vespasian da Bisticci (1421–1498) and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463), who praised Eugenius for his liberality and restoration works. Needless to say, I believe that this is not a constructive literary contrast: it would simply emphasize the tumultuous rule of Eugenius, but would have little to tell us about the wider shift that occurred during these times.

²⁰⁸ Ptolémée, Claude. *Cosmographia*. Translated by Jacopo d'Angelo. Illustrated by Piero del Massaio. Vicenciae, 1475.

²⁰⁹ Modigliani, A. "L'area Di Piazza Navona Tra Medioevo E Rinascimento" Op. cit., pp. 481–504.

²¹⁰ Modigliani, A. *Mercati, Botteghe E Spazi Di Commercio a Roma Tra Medioevo Ed Età Moderna*. Op. cit., p. 146.

²¹¹ As recorded by Giannozzo Manetti in Book III of his 'Life of Pope Nicholas V' the testament of Nicholas stated the following in this regard: "I wish your venerabilities to know and understand that there existed two principal causes of our building projects. The only people who understand that the authority of the Roman church is greatest and supreme are the ones who have learned its origin and its growth from their knowledge of reading. In reality, the masses of all the others, ignorant of and thoroughly lacking reading ability, might seem to hear often from educated and learned men the nature and extent of those matters and to assent to their truth and certitude; but still, unless they are moved by something extraordinary that they see, all that assent of their rests on weak and feeble foundations and will slip bit by bit in the course of time until it lapses to virtually nothing." Manetti, G. "Book Three: The Testament of Nicholas V." In *Building the Kingdom*. Op. cit., p. 473.

²¹² Trachtenberg, Marvin. *Dominion of the Eye: Urbanism, Art, and Power in Early Modern Florence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 150–271.

²¹³ Panofsky, Erwin. *Perspective As Symbolic Form*. New York: Zone Books, 2012.

²¹⁴ Vasi, Giuseppe. *Delle Magnificenze Di Roma Antica E Moderna: Libro Quinto Che Contiene I Ponti E Gi Edifici Sul Tevere*. In Roma: Nella Stamperia degli eredi Barbiellini, 1754, plate 91.

²¹⁵ Piranesi, Giovanni Battista. *Le Antichità Romane*. Roma: A. Rotilj, 1756, volume IV, plate 192, XXIII.

²¹⁶ Kantor-Kazovsky, Lola. *Piranesi as Interpreter of Roman Architecture and the Origins of His Intellectual World*. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2006, p. 119.

²¹⁷ With the expression 'belle simplicité' or 'noble simplicité' Pierre-Jean Mariette addressed the supremacy of Greek art. From the debate between Mariette and Piranesi arose Piranesi's theory of magnificence. These ideas, of course, took on a wider dimension with the writings of art historian Johan Wickelmann.

²¹⁸ Kantor-Kazovsky, L. *Piranesi As Interpreter of Roman Architecture and the Origins of His Intellectual World*. Op. cit.

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 120. Original in: Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza*, Book XXXVI, on aqueducts.

²²⁰ Wittkower, Rudolf. "Piranesi's "Parere Su L'architettura". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, ed. E H Gombrich [u a] (1939): 147–158.

²²¹ Kantor-Kazovsky, L. *Piranesi as Interpreter of Roman Architecture and the Origins of His Intellectual World*. Op. cit., p. 131.

²²² D'Elia, Anthony F. *A Sudden Terror: The Plot to Murder the Pope in Renaissance Rome*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011, p. 53

²²³ Porcari attempted an uprising during the interregnum, during the carnival in 1447, and lastly in 1453.

²²⁴ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 147.

²²⁵ Bripium, Joseph. "Confromatio Curie Romane." Op.cit., pp. 51–63, verses 101 to 115.

²²⁶ Westfall, C W. *In This Most Perfect Paradise*. Op. cit., p. 76.

²²⁷ Bripium, J. "Confromatio Curie Romane." Op. cit. Verses 346 to 351.

²²⁸ Machiavelli, Niccolò. "The Prince." In *The Essential Writings of Machiavelli*. Edited by Peter Constantine. New York: Modern Library, 2007, Chapter XX, p. 83.

²²⁹ Tafuri, M. "Cives Esse Non Licere" *Patronage*. Op. cit., pp. 61–76.

²³⁰ Hamilton, J T. *Security*. Op. cit., p. 5.

²³¹ Machiavelli, N. "The Prince." Op. cit.



TWO

SPATIAL LITURGY The City as a Cultic Device

Preamble

I. *Securitas Perfecta*

II. Sixtus V. A Gloss on State-Building

Prevention: The Papal Treasury

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Total Rome

Streets: Processions and Possessions

III. Liturgy

Obelisks: The Spatialization of Liturgy

Cura Pontifica: The Politics of Spatial Care

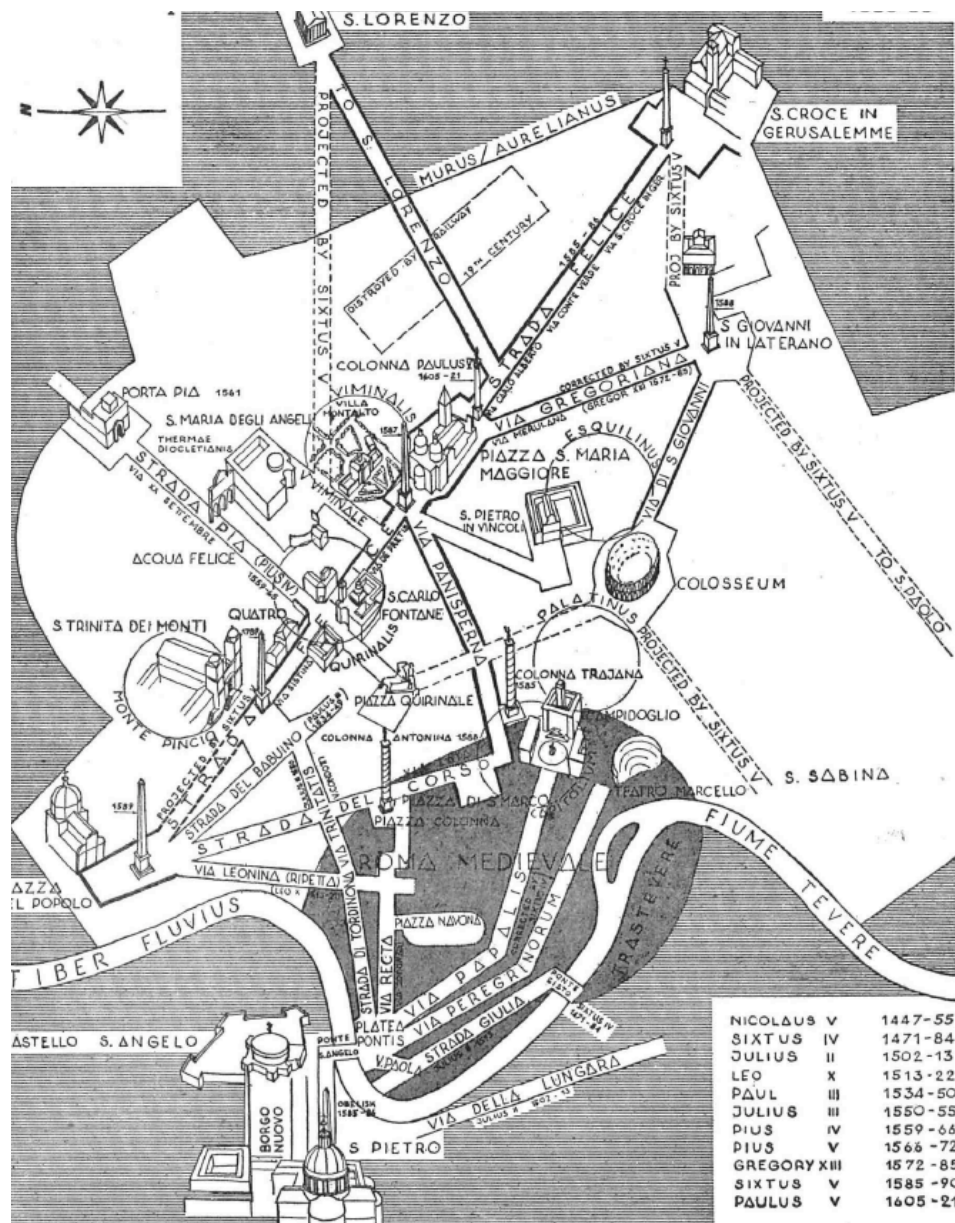
IV. The Lessons of Rome

This chapter is concerned with the city works of Pope Sixtus V, born Felice Peretti di Montalto, who held the papal seat from 1585 until his death in 1590. He dedicated much of his time to the spatial order of Rome. As opposed to Eugenius, who is almost unmentioned in architectural historiography, Sixtus V is commonly referred to in many of the dominant architectural and art histories of the modern city. Ever since 1952, when the historian Sigfried Giedion introduced him as the “first of modern town planners”¹ and described his city works as a “masterplan”, much attention has been centered around the Sistine extension and alignment of streets in Rome.² Sixtus’ emphasis on the regularization of streets borrowed from a long tradition of papal interventions. Yet, under his guidance, the scale of such work experienced an unprecedented expansion. With Sixtus V, the aim of the interventions was, at least partially, to facilitate the permanent pilgrimage route across the seven main basilicas in Rome—an ancient usage which he institutionalized. The final formal expression of this Sistine scheme is well known. It is characterized by its straight thoroughfares cutting across the then depopulated eastern periphery of Rome (the *disabitato*), the presence of radial connections (the *trivium*³) and visual nodes punctuated by the obelisks that were transposed to mark the pilgrimage sites. This was one of the greatest transformations of Rome made by any pope. Modern architectural history has tended to reduce Sixtus’ V city works to physical and architectural motifs under the broader interpretation of modern planning. Such a reading gives little insight into the larger political relations between the papacy and Europe, and thus the significance of transforming Rome in the sixteenth century. What is often overlooked in this narrative is that Sixtus V’s street-based scheme was only a part of a wider, more ambitious campaign by which the pope attempted to transform Rome simultaneously, as I will argue, with the transformation of his temporal power. Thus, despite the frequency with which Sixtus V appears in the historiography of the modern city, the political implications of his works remain rather elusive. More often, the history of this project has been looked at less for its own history, and more for its discursive appropriations, or as Manfredo Tafuri has suggested, its ‘historiographic deformations’.⁴

In a close reading of the architectural historiography of Sixtus V a central contradiction arises: Despite the fact that he is frequently mentioned in architectural discourse, there is much misunderstanding surrounding the role Sixtus played. While Sigfried Giedion situates the Sistine interventions as being at the outset of a modern tradition of space,⁵ Cesare D’Onofrio argues that Sixtus V’s role should be considered as marking the culmination of a medieval tradition of space.⁶ If, for Giedion, the Sistine works are a cohesive “masterplan” that established “the boldly drawn traffic lines that still form the warp and weft of the modern city”,⁷ for sociologist Lewis Mumford the interventions of the Peretti pope—to use Sixtus V’s family name—were nothing but an “exercise in military aesthetics: a toy model for the parade of power”.⁸ In most of these accounts, the intentions behind Sixtus V’s works appeared to be of religious intent, yet their means are open to endless disagreement. Richard Sennett, for example, suggests that Sixtus V was preoccupied with perspective, intending to “connect the [pilgrimage] sites through [...] tunnels of vision”.⁹ For Colin Rowe, Sistine Rome was an exercise in “religious geography”¹⁰, whose transformations drew from medieval

traditions. The confusion around Sixtus V's works was perhaps best framed by Sybil Moholy-Nagy, who dismissively refers to Sixtus V as "the patron saint of American city planners who credit him with the first urban renewal miracle".¹¹ In between these contrasting readings there are many other uses of Sixtus as a reference where his role appears unquestionable, as a sort of historical fact by which a wider issue could be introduced. For example, Reyner Banham, who was captivated by Los Angeles' freeways, and perhaps in a rhetorical attempt to elevate the importance of his beloved LA located the freeways side by side with the monumentality of Sixtus V's streets;¹² or Anthony Vidler, who, in analyzing the role of memory in the city, began his account by highlighting Sixtus V's 'planning', following Giedion, as marking the "true beginning of urbanism".¹³ It is perhaps telling that in Colin Rowe's last publication, *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*, published posthumously, he felt compelled to clarify the historiographic misconception regarding the Sistine works. In this book, Rowe presents Sixtus V's originality as a "myth",¹⁴ and he reminds us that the Peretti pope simply brought to a climactic conclusion the fragmentary interventions in the city that his

Sigfried Giedion. *The Planning of Baroque Rome by Sixtus V (1585-1590)*, 1952



predecessors had carried out continuously since the mid-fifteenth century. Rowe, distances his account clearly from Giedion's by proclaiming that the Sistine interventions were nothing but an "antithesis of overall planning"¹⁵.

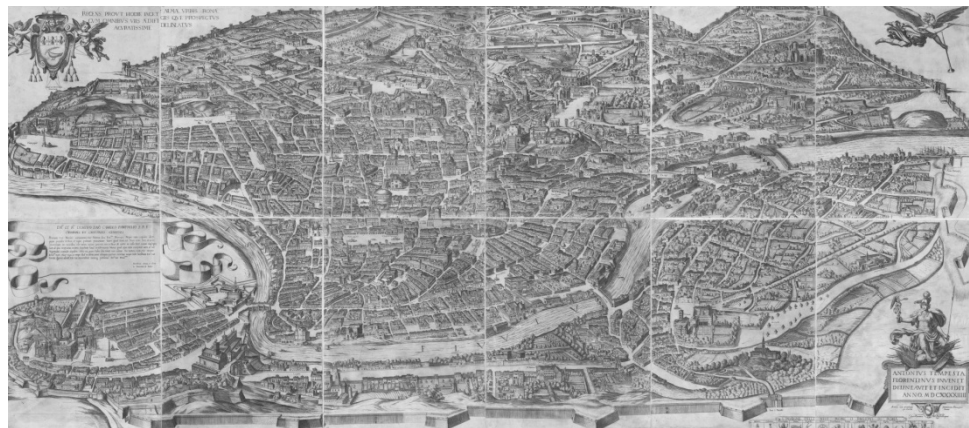
Despite these disorienting interpretations of Sixtus V's works, which still prevail today, efforts have been made in architectural history to trace the ideas of the Sistine street interventions back to previous models.¹⁶ Rowe is just one among many examples who have contextualized the ideas of Sixtus by referring to his papal predecessors. At this point it is indeed widely known that the Sistine scheme brought to a "logical continuation the partial schemes promoted by previous popes",¹⁷ more clearly continuing the efforts that had taken place from the papacy of Nicholas V (1447–1455) to his immediate predecessor Gregory XIII (1572–1585). Yet the more we know about Sixtus V's genealogy, the more questionable becomes the potential contribution of this figure to modern architectural discourse and urban practice.

Two main tendencies frame Sixtus V's historiography: those, following Giedion's strategic and authoritative history, that locate him at the outset of modern planning—Anthony Vidler, Edmund Bacon,¹⁸ Richard Sennett, among others—and those, such as Cesare D'Onofrio and Colin Rowe, who have emphasized the religious forces that drove the pope's actions. While both D'Onofrio's and Rowe's studies are analytically and historically rigorous, they arrive at radically different conclusions. D'Onofrio understands Sixtus V's spatial interventions as a "liturgical ring road,"¹⁹ emphasizing the pope's attempt to connect all pilgrimage sites in Rome. D'Onofrio traces Sixtus V's ideas back to the early years of the Church—to the paleo-Christian model, a period idealized by Sixtus V. In doing this, D'Onofrio insists on a reading of the Sistine works as governed strictly by medieval concerns. On the other hand, Colin Rowe presented the same works as a "religious geography"²⁰—a term that appears somewhat self-evidently archaic—while nevertheless also presenting them as contributing to "modern, Christian purposes".²¹ In both cases, it seems that as soon as the theological connotation appears to prevail in the qualification of Sixtus V's works, the discussion of their supposedly modern legacy seems suddenly unclear. It seems that for a modern reading of Sixtus V's works to stand up, it needs to attenuate the importance of the theological – whereas when he is historicized as a figure drawing from medieval ideas, the theological role in his work becomes more dominant. I will argue that the historical device of using the categories modern/medieval as a substantive divide is not only misleading, but obscures a more accurate reading of Sixtus V in which the two histories – spatial and political – begin to cohere.

In common with other historians, such as D'Onofrio, Leonardo Benevolo, Stefano Borsi, Helge Gamrath, Manfredo Tafuri and Charles Burroughs, Rowe's account of Sixtus V contextualizes his ideas within a wider history of "papal urbanism".²² However, we still lack a full understanding of the political implications and effects of Sixtus V's works. This is all the more striking since Sixtus V came to power not only at the height of the Counter-Reformation, but also, and more importantly for

this account, in the midst of the violent formulation of early modern state power throughout Europe. If they are understood in relation to this political landscape, Sixtus V's works provide us with a magnifying glass by which we gain insights into the techniques of absolutist centralized power. Most often, architectural historians have addressed the context of Counter-Reformation by emphasizing Sixtus V's civic works as the "physical symbol of the triumphal church"²³, as in the case of Rowe. It is, however, notable that, as Helge Gamrath reminds us, the "Council of Trent mentioned nothing about the order of the city".²⁴ Without diminishing the attempts of the members of the Council of Trent between 1545 and 1563 to define the overall role of sacred art as part of the Catholic reform²⁵, their lack of attention to the city as a medium of reform leaves no justification by which one should emphasize the role of the Council as a guidance to understand the papal interventions in the city that culminated with Sixtus V. It is no secret that during the Counter-Reformation there was great disparity between the advice given by the councils and its actual enforcement. In shifting the emphasis here to the role of Sixtus V, as opposed to the councils, our emphasis will be on understanding the forms in which the city came to serve as a medium in the chaotic definition of Church/state relations that emerged during his time. While the formal attributes of the Sistine works have dominated their legacy, the possibility of understanding these works less as a harbinger of a modernist urban agenda than as an early formation of the modern state has not yet been fully addressed. As Paolo Prodi has suggested, Sixtus V was an example of an emerging figure of papal power Prodi referred to as the "pope-king"²⁶—a figure that, since the mid-fifteenth century, bore signs of "the physical incarnation of the new direct and regal power of the popes, differing entirely from Boniface V's medieval model"²⁷. In Prodi's political history, Sixtus V belongs clearly to the period which led to the formation of early modern state power. Yet, although we have a vast historical archive of the Sistine transformations of Rome, what is not yet clear is the role that these transformations of the city might have played in the construction of an early modern form of power.

Antonio Tempesta, *Plan of the City of Rome*, 1593.



I will argue that the spatial order commanded by Sixtus V emerged as a theological intermediary between the pope and his subjects. This perhaps allows us to reach a better understanding of the coupling of power and space that was to develop in Western history. For this account, the theological is not to be seen as an end in itself, as Rowe might have argued when he declared that "Rome, in effect became a shrine";²⁸ rather, it is a means by which a modern politics may be constructed – a

politics which accompanies the theological insofar as it works increasingly independently from, if not opportunistically alongside, it. To see Sixtus V's works as a continuation of the efforts of other popes is important, however, not because we are interested in tracing Sixtus V's ideas, but because, by seeing Sixtus V's works as an amalgam of the time, his works can be assessed as bearing a certain signature of urban papal interventions, our analysis is able to offer a clear image of the spatial actions not only of Sixtus V, but of what Paolo Prodi defines more broadly as the figure of the 'pope-kings'. As Prodi has argued, this figure is marked by a striking continuity across two centuries, starting with Eugenius IV and up to the mid-seventeenth century—albeit that continuity is troubled by chaos and circumstantiality. Prodi argues that this period from the mid-fifteenth century, with Eugenius IV, up to the mid-seventeenth century was concerned with the redefinition not only of the centralized practices of papal power but also of the entire ecclesiastical machinery, its administration and practices, in a form which began to resemble early modern state power.²⁹ Here, I will situate the Sistine works as part of this transformation, which, I will argue, is intertwined with the transformations of the city. The changes in the structure and nature of papal power that took place over the course of Sixtus V's rule were indistinguishable from the broad transformation he carried out in the spaces of the city. To do this, I will highlight the ways in which Sixtus V developed centralized state-like practices, in relation to financial, administrative and, crucially, liturgical concerns. Following Rowe and D'Onofrio, I will argue that the Rome of Sixtus V became organized as a space of liturgy. Yet, against them, I will insist that this is precisely where we can see space becoming a key arena in which Sixtus V's politics began to play themselves out. I see Sixtus V not as un-modern: in fact, his works may be useful for understanding contemporary and late twentieth century urbanism. Rather, he is simply not *modernist*. To understand the form in which liturgy during Sixtus V's rule was greatly expanded to serve, indeed, as the organizing principle of the transformation of Rome, is to also understand how power, space and the activities of the subjects became intertwined in a form that was redolent of modern state power.

What does it imply to organize a city as a space of liturgy? How does this sort of spatialization of liturgy relate to Prodi's history of the formation of the early modern state? In what follows, I will analyze how, in a context where Rome, as a Papal State, and Rome as the seat of the Christian Church, had thrown Rome into crisis, and, it was through a considerable expansion of liturgical practices that papal power under Sixtus V managed to reconcile its internal divisions while simultaneously intertwining its realm of intervention more closely with the daily activities of the populace. Liturgy, as Giorgio Agamben reminds us, is etymologically rooted in the Greek *leitourgia* (from *laos*: *people*, and *ergon*: *work*), which signifies "public work". Agamben states: "the Church has always tried to underline the public character of liturgical worship in contrast to private devotions".³⁰ Liturgy, as can be inferred from Agamben's *Opus Dei*, is not only a set of private, ritualistic practices, but refers primarily to public acts which not only reinforce power relations but also form them. The expansion of liturgy as an ordering principle of the city, during Sixtus V's rule, not only reinforced the practices of the Roman Catholic Church, it also assisted in constructing the temporal power of the pope-king. Yet while Agamben analyzes liturgy through acclamations and

celebratory practices within the Church, we can also ask: what did it mean that, with Sixtus V, it was *the city* that served as an intermediary to constitute this liturgical publicness of papal power? To order the city as a space of liturgy might have involved, I will argue, much more than simply an act of representing the triumphant Church. It was an act by which the pope attempted to construct his temporal relations with his subjects. In other words, the Sistine spatial interventions, far from being merely an ornament of power, assisted in the constitution of a wholly new form of temporal power that accompanied the Papal State.

The ‘spatialization of liturgy’ is especially revealing in relation to Sixtus V’s wider ambition to restore public order in Rome—something that was in part celebrated with the phrase ‘*securitas perfecta*’. By examining Sixtus’ attempt to restore order in Rome as a political framework, we will see how, under his ruling ‘order’ took many forms: spatial, judicial, economic, and iconographic—all of which intermingled in asserting the reformed temporal power of the pope and his cultivation of a new type of subject, one who finds his or her wellbeing in the space afforded by the temporal power of the pope-king. Furthermore, the Sistine spatial interventions are revealing in so far as they were *capable of being experienced* in the profane spaces of the city. Through the experience of space, the temporal power invested in the pope-king found a device by which to communicate a seductive dimension of his power directly to his subjects. The city became a device of orientation in which the subject would find his/her place in the world through the experience of space choreographed through liturgy. The project of Sixtus V, I will argue, did more than simply orient pilgrims to the main pilgrimage stations: it also oriented subjects to understand an *ethos* and his/her relation to power. In other words, through this spatialization of liturgy, the ordering of the city not only represented power but constituted it. In emphasizing this, I will present the Sistine interventions as a paradigm that might have informed something we can refer to as the political phenomenology of the very early modern state.

Sixtus V used the city as an intermediary for disseminating liturgical practices, through which he discovered an emerging form of temporal political order—one that strove to create an image of perfection on earth. The city he tried to constitute never aimed to be functional per se, as the modernist reading put forward by Giedion suggested. However, it allows us to peep into the world of an early modern subject in his or her process of formation. In doing so, we might find that the modern legacy of Sixtus V is not to be found in a systematic planning of the cities, but resides in the mechanics of constructing modern subjectivity.

Securitas Perfecta

Operating at various scales, from that of the city, to the minting of coins and medals, Sixtus V overlooked no detail in the material world of the Rome of his time. Almost 50 medals were struck during his five papal years to commemorate his acts and building works.³¹ The political message of these objects is clear: the obverse face presents the pope as the figure of spiritual and political authority, the back bears an image of metaphorical or iconographic value. The medals provide a clear, succinct, yet carefully constructed political message, authorized by the pope. Through his medals and coins, the actions of Sixtus V began to provide a narrative of his papacy for citizens and dignitaries, high and low, whose hands they reached. The messages conveyed by the medals ranged from associations of Sixtus V with divine ideals to commemoration of various events. Some convey Sixtus V's affiliations with the Franciscan order, others commemorate his construction works and others speak metaphorically about the various conditions Sixtus V sought to cultivate in the city. Among those medals dedicated to celebrating his city works we can find the following: miniature characterizations of the four obelisks he transposed to mark important basilicas in Rome; the restoration and re-signification³² of Trajan's and Marcus Aurelius' column; the opening of the Aqua Felice fountain, which brought water to the then depopulated area of the Quirinal Hill; his interventions around the Vatican, such as the completion of the dome of St. Peter's and the Vatican Library; and, of course, the famous straightening of the streets linking St Maria Maggiore with other major basilicas. Other medals were dedicated to celebrating his pursuit of justice, which saw the execution of more than 7, 000 bandits³³ during the first five months of his papacy.³⁴ This was celebrated with text declaring *sic omnia tuta* ("Thus all is safe"), *Securitas Perfecta* ("Perfect security"), and *securitas populi Romani* ("Security of the Roman people"), among others. It could be said that those medals related a spiritual imperative with a material dictum. However, among all these medals, the one that I believe deserves most attention is the bronze medal of 1587,³⁵ with the text reading *securitas perfecta*. This is not merely because it has gone largely unnoticed, but mainly because it opens a new perspective on how to understand Sixtus V's city works as belonging to a

wider transformation of papal power the legacy of which would become ingrained in the modern world.

The statement *securitas perfecta* on the medal was accompanied by an image of a person in peaceful repose, his limbs relaxed, his head resting against a rock. He is looking up at a tree which bears an abundance of fruit. Recalling the etymology of *securitas* from the previous chapter, denoting the state of being removed from concern, this care-free figure is the embodiment of *securitas* that Sixtus V strived to achieve across Rome. We are asked to associate the ideal of ‘perfect’ security with this mundane depiction of a person who seems to have satiated his desires under a tree. Many have interpreted this image as portraying a peasant in the countryside, where most bandits dwelt. Such interpretation has been used either to celebrate the security of the countryside or to attempt to vindicate Sixtus from his harsh regime as part of the propaganda of good government at the time.³⁶ I think we should see it somewhat differently. As historian Irene Fosi Polverini has previously noted, “neither the motto nor the bucolic image owed anything to antiquity. Rather, the medal was an original creation of the curia.”³⁷ The medal’s implicit evocation of temporal perfection was also an idea that was rarely evoked in Christian doctrine. If used the text *securitas perfecta* was used to indicate the entrance to a graveyard, a sort of portal to an afterlife.³⁸ While it was common practice to appropriate religious slogans and imagery from the Bible or from the history of the Church, this medal was altogether different. The combination of a message—with an eschatological reference—and a bucolic image evoking the temporal experience of material satiation was a rather vague relation.

Domenico Poggini. *Perfecta Securitas*.
Medal. 1586



If the medal did indeed aim to commemorate the peace brought about by the sword of justice, it is instructive to remember how these concepts were framed in theological writings prior to the time of Sixtus V. For example, in the *City of God*, in reflecting on the concepts of peace and justice, Augustine clearly distinguishes between temporal peace and perfect eternal peace. Augustine proposes: “This [eternal peace] is our final happiness, our last perfection, a consummation which will have no end.”³⁹ In contrast to this notion, he follows by explaining the nature of temporal peace, which appears as a sort of consolation for something that cannot be fully experienced upon earth. He states: “But the peace which we have here, whether shared with other men or peculiar to ourselves, is

only a solace for our wretchedness rather than the joy of blessedness”.⁴⁰ In other words, temporal peace appears to Augustine as a limited form, to distinguished from the promise of its perfection in salvation. Another way of interpreting this is that perfection is presented not as a lack, as it exists in an afterlife, but as a form of *temporal incompleteness* awaiting its divine fulfillment. As philosopher Hannah Arendt suggests in her dissertation of *Love and Saint Augustine*, the emphasis on the incompleteness of man is crucial to the perpetuation of the bond between creator and creature. In Arendt’s close reading of Augustine’s *Confessions*, she suggests: “what remains possible for man is ever-increasing *resemblance*”.⁴¹ This striving for imitation of the divine is key to understanding the role of perfection, but also its potential: perfection appears as the act of constructing a relation between the faithful and God.

If, according to Augustine, perfection cannot be fulfilled upon earth, its used seems to intended to served as a form of confirmation of the narratives of eternal salvation. Thus, its importance perhaps lies in establishing itself as an endless pursuit, as a relation of dependence between God and the faithful. Sixtus V’s medal, bearing the dictum *securitas perfecta*, intentionally juxtaposes two otherwise distinct forms of peace: one (the resting man) that is experienced, and one that is promised (the reference to perfection upon salvation). How can we understand this intentional pairing when it is not only perfection that is concerned with an afterlife, but also security? In the same book of the *City of God* (Book 19), we find a similar presentation of the limited nature of security in its temporal form. Augustine states: “But not even the saints and faithful worshipers of the one true and most high God are safe from the manifold temptations and deceits. For in this place of weakness [...] this worried concern is not useless, in order that this security, where peace is most complete and most certain, may be sought with more fervent longing”.⁴² Here, again, we encounter security as inseparable from the narrative of eternal salvation, but with a very particular character: the perpetuation of the desire—the “fervent longing”—security here is experienced only as an ideal. As scholar John Hamilton highlights in a recent and important philological study on security, analyzing this passage: “It is the lack of security that causes security to be desired”⁴³. *Securitas perfecta* emerges thus as an ideal of an eternal life whose faint appearances on earth seem to reproduce the dependence of the faithful on God.

The medal serves as a reminder of this circle of dependency perpetuated through the many liturgical and ecclesiastical procedures of the Church. What is crucial here is the way in which such an eschatological message can be accompanied by its temporal locus, juxtaposed as it is by the corporeal experience of man provided by the shadow of a tree, seems to be calling for a different interpretation. The precedents in the iconography of security, at least in papal medals, would more frequently have been accompanied by the goddess figure of *securitas* or the victorious image of a warrior. Here, the presentation of the medal seems to share more with the allegories of good government of Ambrogio Lorenzetti (ca. 1338), in which the divine angel body is juxtaposed with the temporal effects of good government. In Lorenzetti’s fresco, located in the eastern wall of the *Sala dei Nove* at *Palazzo Pubblico* in Siena, the allegorical figure of *securitas* holds a banner stating: “Without fear let each

man freely walk and work, [...] because she [*securitas*] has removed all power from the guilty.⁴⁴” In other words, the angelic figure of *securitas* removes not only fear from the city, but also the threat of fear. As Hamilton argues “*securitas* appears [in Lorenzetti] as both the precondition for and the custodian of the peaceful city”.⁴⁵ Of course, Lorenzetti was not allegorizing the aspirations of papal power, but those of the Republic of Siena, governed at the time by the ‘Council of the Nine’. By contrast, as we can infer from the theological writings of Augustine, *securitas perfecta* seems to have no place on earth. That the Papal Curia, through the medal in question, suggested an instance of its presence on earth was perhaps not accidental.

It could be said that, ever since the papacy returned from Avignon with Martin V, it began to explore new ways through which its temporal power could be asserted. With Sixtus V, however, the temporal power of the pope looked to supplement its spiritual power, based on the promise of eternal salvation, with measured doses of its earthly counterpart. It is in this way that it is perhaps possible to create a resemblance of *securitas perfecta* in earthly life. In a period in which the Italian Renaissance appears as a sort of “political laboratory”,⁴⁶ we might suggest that experiments were developed through which theological narratives could be extended into the life of the Roman citizenry. The city became a primary intermediary to help supplement theological narratives, as we will see in the following pages. If this is the case, what we are about to examine represents a novel shift in papal power, which had the potential to affect the most intimate spheres of human life, the ideals common to Roman citizenry, and the systems of orientation in the city. That *securitas perfecta* seems to have had an ‘effect’ among the life of the subjects is part of the shift we begin to trace toward the increasing secularization of the Christian Church in its rule over Rome. If this is the case, the production of resemblances of theological ideals among the lives of the citizens was constructed not only because papal power was required to provide more exemplars of salvation on earth, but because it needed to reproduce a circle of dependency in the lives of its subjects that paralleled ideas of divine salvation. Or, to put it differently, the dependency between the faithful and God that was promulgated with ideas of ‘perfect security’ not only spoke to the supremacy of God, but also to the constitution of his power on earth, which was now to be an object of *resemblance*. What was at stake was the production and reproduction of relations of voluntary obedience and reverence that appeared not only between the faithful and God, but which were increasingly cultivated through secular forms of power.

This suggests how the space of the faithful—the city—became far more operative as a medium that contributed directly to the preservation of the temporal power of the pope in the earthly world. To put it in a different way, the medal emphasized a shift in the manner in which the world that *is* (earthly life) was subject now to its perpetual reconstruction in an effort to resemble the world that *ought to be* (*securitas perfecta*). In the world of the sixteenth century, which was changing so drastically, with religious and territorial wars, perhaps what Sixtus V was attempting to do here was not to symbolize a celebration of the *solution* to Rome’s problems, but rather “to give a meaning to that changing of the world”.⁴⁷ In so doing, perhaps inadvertently, Sixtus V discovered that to consolidate his temporal

power he also needed to construct a world of temporal ideals and models of perfection and security against which his power could be measured. Just as in theology in the early modern world outside of Rome, it was through the transformation of these spiritual ideals that relations of dependency, obedience and belief were to be reconstructed.

Seeing Sixtus V's practices in respect of centralizing his power and his city works from this perspective might help us to avoid the rush to project modern forms of knowledge and perceptions back onto his otherwise ad hoc strategies. In what follows, we will begin to see how Sixtus V's ambitions were probably not aimed at solving city problems or making Rome more 'functional', as the idea of a masterplan would suggest. Instead, his objective was perhaps to redefine the means of orientation of his subjects through the immediacy of the city's surroundings—a task intimately bound up with a profound reorientation of papal power. This is the world that Sixtus V tried to act upon: a world that, in turn, begat an early modern form of subjectivity.

II

Sixtus V. A Gloss on State-Building

The picture we have suggested allows us to identify common characteristics of the transformation of papal power which Sixtus V contributed to, but not its mechanisms. Sixtus V was involved in the Counter-Reformation: his papacy was preceded by the crucial Council of Trent, which defined many of the changes the Church adopted in the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet, to read the relevance of his papacy through the lens of the Counter-Reformation has the risk, as Paolo Prodi has argued, of “favoring a periodization which overshadows the constants of the fuller span of institutional development, and presents the papacy of the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation too strongly in contrast...”⁴⁸ On the other hand, Helge Gamrath has also observed that the Council of Trent had little to say about the way the city was to be ordered.⁴⁹ In following Prodi and Gamrath’s note of caution, we might have to look beyond the decrees of the Council of Trent to understand other implications of Sixtus V’s papacy. Here we will concentrate on the intensification of the process of the centralization of power in the hands of the pope that had already been at work among previous popes. In the previous chapter we began to see features of this tendency with Eugene IV. Its continuation under Sixtus V still remains obscure in the field of architectural historiography, which is dominated by the dominant historical narrative of the Counter-Reformation. Without denying its importance, we will shift the emphasis away from the Counter-Reformation in order to understand the role Sixtus V played in the consolidation of practices and institutions that were characteristic of the early modern state. In this way, I hope we will begin to see features of his power and procedures that attempted not

only to convert heretics, but to rationalize the entire sphere of human activities, in a manner that resonates more closely with the practices of early modern state power.

Let us consider the debate regarding the nature of papal power, as discussed during Sixtus V's papacy by the Jesuit Roberto Bellarmine (1532–1621). Bellarmine was a diplomat and a theologian, whose work Sixtus V attempted to censor.⁵⁰ The work in question was Bellarmine's four-volume *Controversies*, in which his theory of indirect power was developed. This theory was a specific response by Bellarmine to the "degeneracy of the times"—*malitia temporum*,⁵¹ to borrow his own term—yet it had repercussions that went beyond the Counter-Reformation. In a crucial section of his *Controversies*, "On Laymen or Secular People", published during Sixtus V's papacy, and consistent with the concept of indirect power, Bellarmine states: "Whoever can command can also bind the conscience, even if he does not make judgements on internal matters or does not examine another person's conscience"⁵². This statement is part of Bellarmine's reflections on the implications of political commands, by which he identifies the interrelation between internal/spiritual issues and external/temporal matters. In other words, he suggests that to command is an act that is concerned not only with affecting external material issues, but also internal beliefs and conduct. The state of affairs in which he wrote brought specific urgency to his call, as he argued: "For even if there should happen to be an absolute state, popes conduct only spiritual business and kings temporal. *But*, because of the *degeneracy of the times*, experience urges that it is not merely useful, but actually necessary and in accordance with the special care of God that some states were handed over to the Pope."⁵³ Bellarmine was making a case for expanding the forms of indirect power of the papacy. As was suggested by Bellarmine, the pope could indirectly intervene in all temporal matters as long as they could be related to internal spiritual issues. Just as in *securitas perfecta*, Bellarmine's purpose was to protect the spiritual ideal of salvation, yet its temporal practice remained vague. Indeed, the possibilities would seem to be limitless.

By insisting on the spiritual power of the pope, Bellarmine 'indirectly' justified the temporal actions of the papacy. Through his writings, the papacy could grant itself full, albeit indirect, absolute power. Bellarmine's theory was, in fact, a direct response to the chaotic circumstances of the fight against heretics, and a defense of the pope's actions during the Counter-Reformation. Yet, rather than merely considering it as a reaction, I see these effects as building up a theoretical and institutional case that would define temporal power beyond a specific historic reply to the Reformation. Curiously, Sixtus V considered Bellarmine's writings insufficiently assertive of the power invested in the pope. As a result, it was threatened that Bellarmine's *Controversies* be added to the index of forbidden books.⁵⁴ What is crucial in terms of my argument is that we see issues that belong to the Counter-Reformation, such as the formulation of indirect power,⁵⁵ resonating beyond the localized reform of the Church. Rather than considering this identification of an absolute papal power merely as a sign of tyranny—in the language of the time—we will attempt to understand how this form of power over the immanent

world of the faithful bound spiritual matters with its temporal counterpart, discovering, in this way, a rather seductive form of power.

Half a century before Sixtus V took power, Francesco Giucciardini had already suggested the fine line that existed between development of the papacy's absolute, tyrannical practices and the simultaneous reinvention of their temporal practices. Summarizing his impression, Giucciardini stated: "the papacy [...] no longer use their spiritual authority except rather more like secular princes than popes. Their concern and endeavors began to be no longer the sanctity of life or the propagation of religion, no longer zeal and charity toward their neighbors, but armies and wars against Christians, managing their sacrifices with bloody hands and thoughts; they began to accumulate treasures, to make new laws, to invent new tricks, new cunning devices..."⁵⁶ The duality of the times is clear here: on the one hand, the clear expression of absolute power, and, on the other hand, the reinvention of a new form in which to exercise their power over their citizens and territory. In order to understand any possible modern legacy as influencing the early modern state, as Paolo Prodi argues, we will need to focus on the latter, to understand how in the re-working of their theological principles the popes re-discovered the subversive practices of secular power.

In binding external reality with spiritual issues, as Bellarmine advocated, the papacy was also confronted with the means by which its increasingly secular interventions could impact the realms of conduct and subjectivity. It is only by following these practices of centralization that we can begin to understand how to locate the role of Sixtus V's spatialization of liturgy. The intensity of Sixtus V's rule had an impact on the fiscal administration of the Papal Curia, the internal administration of the cardinals, the system of water supply, the hierarchy of roads, monuments, employment, the use of materials,⁵⁷ and, of course, labor. Life in late-sixteenth century Rome, it could be said, was monopolized by papal power.

Prevention: The Papal Treasury

Sixtus V gave support to the wide financial reform of the papacy which had begun more clearly in the late fifteenth century with Sixtus IV (1471 to 1484), when the way in which the papal government began to act as a borrower became institutionalized in long-term credit systems.⁵⁸ Sixtus V continued this form of funded debt, in his case through the institutional issuing of bonds, a technique that had begun with Clement VII (1523–1534) called *Monte della Fede*. What made the *monti* different from other bonds was that they were open to the general Roman money market and they were normally issued to fund extraordinary expenses of the curia.⁵⁹ This was the financial source that Sixtus V used to gather funds for his campaign against the bandits and brigandage that threatened order in Rome, which, for the occasion, he called *Monte della Pace*.⁶⁰ To this practice in the management of wealth, Sixtus added an enormous expansion to the treasure accumulated in Castel Sant'Angelo. This was a

reserve treasury the history of which went back to Paul II (1464–1471), but in Sixtus V's time it was comparable to “three-quarters of the American gold that had arrived in Spain in the ten years between 1581 and 1590.”⁶¹ In a bull of 1586, Sixtus V declared the utility of the treasury by stating that “he had turned his attention with watchful care not only to the present storms, but also to *future* ones.”⁶² These were the two storms that decided the use of the treasure: the silver scudi were designated for the present storms, to be withdrawn according to the need of the popes; the gold ones, however, were designated as strictly sacred—only to be used by the utmost threats, including crusades, invasions of papal territories, famines, and others⁶³. As historian Peter Partner reminds us, this form of accumulation was familiar to the Venetians, yet its use by Sixtus V was rather different. Partner insists that “Sixtus V, on the contrary, borrowed in order to hoard.”⁶⁴ At least as the treasury was used during Sixtus V's rule, there was a declared rejection to put the wealth of the treasury into circulation. In other words, the debt was not being monetized as currency. Instead, the importance of this financial practice was perhaps in marking the intervention of the Church in an immanent future that would now be protected through purely secular measures.

In an ever more polycentric Europe, this financial leverage gave the papacy a means by which to compete with other princes. Toward the end of his papacy in 1590, Sixtus V was already considered “the richest prince in Europe”.⁶⁵ Sixtus V was very public about this. In just a century and a half the Church went from considering the accumulation of wealth as sinful to fully embracing it as a practice of maintaining its status quo. Sixtus V celebrated the treasury with the striking of three commemorative medals.⁶⁶ Soon, however, the contradictions were felt—especially by the Romans. The wealth which had mainly been gathered through state loans and the *monti* bonds was accompanied by the necessity of paying the interest on these loans and bonds. As a consequence, taxes were increased and concessions were sold by the pope to pay the interest. “Soon there were monopolies for practically everything, from selling soap, mining practices, to towing barges on the Tiber or selling snow”⁶⁷—a true lesson in state policy.

While the consequences of the accumulation were devastating for the Romans, what is crucial for our purposes is to emphasize the inclusion of the temporal future in the management of the Papal State. The future here is no longer beyond the sphere of human life, as the doctrine of divine salvation suggested. It was instead embraced as an immediate future. It was not only based on the expectation of the Last Judgment: it was also based on the recognition that the Papal State was also to be judged as an entity among other states, doctrines, and so on. In this context it could be said that the sacred treasure was a rather curious symbol of the new preventive natures that the Papal State was embracing. Prevention, in this context, was meant as a mechanism by which to preserve the security of the Papal States. This mechanism was crucial in order for the pope to construct an artificial sovereignty the strength of which began to rely also on an early form of rational prognosis. In this way, the treasury served not only as a highly symbolic source by which to measure the temporal

power of the Church, but also one by which to signal the full embracing of the most powerful tools of the imminent world as a means to assert the weight of the papacy's temporal power.

This form of prevention involved a change in temporality. It mark an “inversion in the horizon of expectations”, to use the phrase used by Reinhart Koselleck⁶⁸. As Koselleck suggests, “until well into the sixteenth century, the history of Christianity is a history of expectations... a history of constant anticipation of the End of the World and the continual deferment of the End of the other”.⁶⁹ The treasury could be understood as a symbol marking the embracing of the latter. Its importance lies in the clear introduction of the immediate future as a sphere of concern for the papal government. If, as Koselleck suggests, the End of the World was a means of stabilization for the Church, the integration of the future as concrete events or instances has disintegrative effects⁷⁰. In its disintegration, however, it also becomes clear that the future is destined to be monopolized by the sovereign, in the constitution of its power. The stagnant treasury was the clearest declaration of this attempt to control the future: an attempt to embrace a calculated form of prevention to constitute and preserve the very power of the Papal State. As we know, the role of prevention was only to increase in the statecraft of modernity. Of course, it did not have by any means the statistical mechanisms that took hold in the nineteenth century, as historian Ian Hacking has shown in *The Taming of Chance*.⁷¹ Nor had it the maturity of the calculative practices of the French police science in the seventeenth century revealed by Michel Foucault . Yet its importance lies in the correlation of the establishment of the sovereign power of the pope and its instrumental use of practices of state prevention. The treasury is perhaps a reminder that the future became a new datum in the constitution of temporal power.

Continuity: Cardinals and Congregations

In addition to his early inclusion of prevention as a calculated mechanism for the constitution of power, Sixtus V's administrative reforms contributed to the stabilization of the Papal State. Before Sixtus V, the policies regulating the College of the Cardinals were subject to the policy of each elected pope. Between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, the College of the Cardinals functioned as a sort of senate of the Church, which, by the fifteenth century, served a clearly subordinate role to the pope. Nevertheless, the College, together with the non-dynastic power of the papacy, stood as one of the greatest obstacles for the establishment of political consistency that might have allowed for state-like logics to operate in the papacy. Papal policies were born and died with each new pope. When Sixtus V came to power, he attempted to erase the many inconsistencies that had prevailed for centuries in the erratic appointment of the cardinals, their function, their number, and the nature of their power. Crucial steps to improve this occurred under Sixtus V through a major reform to the College of Cardinals. Through systematic changes to the College, Sixtus V was able to exert his power over time, giving longevity to the decrees he enacted and the policies he devised. In a bull of 1586,⁷² Sixtus V established the structure and nature of the principles that were to govern the College. In it, Sixtus V

fixed the number of cardinals at 70, stipulated their age, their place of origin, their relation to Rome, and especially the role of the ruling pope in selecting these members. With this reform, Sixtus V indirectly allowed this body to represent a continuity that was otherwise impossible for non-dynastic popes.

As for their jurisdiction, although the College's power had been subordinated to the pope, the Cardinals acted as a sort of guarantor, representing the pope – especially after his death. Take, for example, the use of the treasury: the stipulation of its use, consecrated in bulls, was not formulated by cardinals, but by the pope. What Sixtus V changed was that the cardinals were required to sign and swear by these measures, so as to guarantee that the mandates specified by Sixtus V would be respected by his successors. Paolo Prodi states that the importance of this gesture was that it had a constitutional value. He states: “the college was assigned the greatest guarantee of continuity of the State both territorially and patrimonially. It is not unimportant that these functions concerned the State rather than the Church”.⁷³ What came to consolidate the role of the cardinals even more was a subsequent reform by which cardinals were subdivided into 15 separate congregations, each of which would attend to specific secular and religious affairs. This restructuring of the College of Cardinals represents a major shift in the character of the papacy, toward bureaucratization. While not unprecedented, by dividing the College of Cardinals into multiple separate congregations, Sixtus V greatly expanded and reshaped it as an administrative machine—a “framework by which to govern the Papal States”.⁷⁴ Similar to the contemporary version of a governmental minister, these congregations under Sixtus V were in charge of the management of specific branches of the papacy's affairs. With the reform of the College and its expanded institutionalization through the many congregations, a new and clearly defined Papal State machinery began to take shape. As Prodi shows, these reforms were increasingly acting as state-like practices. The reforms Sixtus V made to the Church hierarchy and the development of state practices went hand in hand.

It could be said that Sixtus V legitimized what was already taking shape in the fifteenth century: over this period, the body of cardinals had come to resemble an aristocratic court, one that had already been celebrated with Paolo Cortese's *De Cardinalatu* of 1510—a manual on decorum for cardinals which was often compared with Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* of 1528. Not only that, its legitimization allowed the papacy to reinforce its autonomy and to consolidate the double personality of the ‘pope-king’, which was now complete, as Sixtus V, we might say, surrounded himself by his ‘court’ of cardinals. As an account of the time recalls: “...all is change, and only the pope governs, and the cardinals are left with nothing but appearances...”⁷⁵

Total Rome

The other side of this picture of apparent financial prosperity and administrative continuity is seen in the streets of Rome at the time. Sixtus V took power in 1585 when the consequences of a long period of severe austerity were still being felt in Rome – a period which began with the sack of Rome of 1527 and intensified in the late 1550s with the papal conflict with Philip II of Spain. The prices of basic food rose steadily,⁷⁶ together with heavy taxation. Banditry and the number of beggars were, not surprisingly, on the rise as well.⁷⁷ Industry in this period had not been fully developed in Rome, and the centers of production were mainly England, the Netherlands and Florence.⁷⁸ Rome was instead operating on the scale of small craftsmanship.⁷⁹ This was the context in which Sixtus V began his wide restoration of order in Rome. What is interesting about Sixtus V is that his centralization of governmental, financial and administrative practices was equally complemented by a strong campaign that focused on the experiential. It was a campaign that overlooked no medium, most especially, the city of Rome itself, through which he spread his message. In this sense, Sixtus V's political campaign was intrinsically linked with his re-ordering of Rome. It could be said that, if the treasury was to preserve the Papal States from external forces and the administrative reforms were to preserve the continuity of state-like practices, Sixtus V's city interventions were carried out in order to preserve his power from his own citizens.

Sixtus V has fascinated urban and architectural historians in part because, in just five years, he managed to transform Rome on a scale never seen before. Domenico Fontana, Sixtus V's architect, recorded more than 35 major works executed during his papacy, including works relating to numerous religious facilities, communal institutions spread across the city, several palaces, the Vatican library in the Belvedere, aqueducts, bridges, the leveling of streets, squares and the famous transposition of obelisks to the center of many important churches in Rome, among many others⁸⁰. Sixtus V constructed and destroyed. He completed many of the works of his predecessors, but he also established the guidelines for the development of the eastern periphery of Rome in the area around the Quirinal Hill, a site which, until then, was sparsely inhabited and where, coincidentally, Sixtus also established his personal palace before he became pope. His ideas were not novel, but their effects were totalizing.

In most of these ambitious works, Sixtus V's closest ally was the architect Domenico Fontana. Even before Sixtus V took the papacy, Fontana had already designed the residency of the Cardinal Felice Peretti, more commonly referred to as Villa Montalto, referring to Montalto, the place of Sixtus V's birth.⁸¹ Once Sixtus V was enthroned, the relation between the pope and the architect grew stronger. If there is one thing that architectural historiographies seems to agree on in relation to the cooperation of the two men, it was the poor artistic resolution of many of their projects. "Fontana [Sigfried Giedion stated] belonged to the artistically mediocre generation of architects between Michelangelo and the rise of Roman Baroque. His taste was as flavorless as that of his client".⁸² Historian Fernand Braudel

seemed to agree about the latter, writing that “Sixtus V, a stubborn peasant, misunderstood Rome”.⁸³ Some have criticized Fontana’s design for breaking with the perspectival continuity of Bramante’s Cortile del Belvedere.⁸⁴ Others have focused their criticism on Sixtus V’s systematic destruction of the ancient fabric and monuments of Rome, what sociologist Lewis Mumford called Sixtus V’s “bulldozing habit of mind”.⁸⁵ What is important here is not to scrutinize Sixtus V’s artistic competence, but to understand the role of his spatial operations in the protection of his temporal power.

His works included religious structures, from the construction of new buildings, such as the Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, to the promotion of letters within the curia with the construction of the new wing to relocate the Vatican Library in the court of Belvedere, many improvements to the palace and surrounding structures of St. John Lateran, and the completion of St. Peter’s Dome.⁸⁶ Sixtus V was also deeply involved in the dissemination of devotional objects throughout Rome, including the spectacular transposition, restoration and re-signification of the four obelisks he transposed to mark part of the processional pilgrimage route across the seven main basilicas, which he instituted with his famous Bull *Egregia populi romani pietas*.⁸⁷ Along these lines, Sixtus also brought to completion the restoration work begun by his predecessors of Trajan’s and Antoninus’ imperial columns, topping each not with restored statues of Trajan and Antonius, but with those of St. Peter and St. Paul, respectively.⁸⁸ All these objects of pagan and imperial origin were ‘converted’ into monumental pedestals to celebrate the triumphant Church. However, to differentiate boundaries between Sixtus V’s religious and secular works would be to reduce their efficacy.

For example, Sixtus’ famous expansion and alignment of the streets of Rome not only assisted the devotional route by facilitating the ‘decorum’ of the procession, as Sixtus declared in his bull,⁸⁹ but also served as an incentive to promote habitation in the area of the Quirinal Hill, where “a new Rome”⁹⁰ was to be founded. The most important street completed by Sixtus V was Strada Felice. It covered “two and half miles, all in a straight line, wide enough to drive five carriages abreast”,⁹¹ crossing Rome’s periphery from north to the southeast. Many other street works involved the completion and regularization of work that had already begun under Sixtus’ predecessors.⁹² Sixtus V’s ambitious drive brought them quickly to a mature stage. The same can be said of Sixtus V’s first commission, the construction of a new 25-mile aqueduct, which he ordered the very same day that he took possession of the papal throne in St. John Lateran.⁹³ Again, although Sixtus V was bringing to completion the preparatory works of his predecessor, in this case Gregory XIII, the aqueduct was to bear Sixtus V’s birth name, Aqua Felice (happy waters).⁹⁴ The works were promoted as serving a “public convenience”, an act of generosity on the part of the pope.⁹⁵ Yet, as historian Katherine W Rinne has argued, “water [in Renaissance Rome] was literally liquid currency that could be bought, traded, sold, or given away within a highly structured and carefully monitored marketplace”.⁹⁶ This was not an exception for Sixtus V. His water gifts were known to be extremely strategic. For example, he charged full price for the water provided to the Jesuit College, while at the same time gifting it to

his closest noble allies.⁹⁷ The driving force behind the transformation of order in Rome seem to have been indistinguishable from political strategies.

Many other projects of a social character had similar overlaps. Sixtus V established a new and enclosed, large public laundry in Piazza delle Terme, to serve the poor women of the area. He also constructed several houses and shops, which allowed for the increasing densification of the Quirinal Hill area. In the densest part of the city, Sixtus V established a hospice for beggars to the west of Ponte Sisto, and a public rinsing basin for the wool trade at the Trevi Fountain. Additionally, he planned a massive conversion of the Coliseum into a textile factory, which included houses for workers, though he died before this project could start. Historian Charles Burroughs has interpreted these social projects by Sixtus V as enclosures of city deviance: where poverty was not addressed but was simply contained⁹⁸. Records of the time—dated May 16, 1587—bear a similar impression of the reception of Sixtus V’s works: “New streets are being prepared, which means the destruction of many houses and old places of worship; and to make a library in the Belvedere they ruin the entire proportions of such a noble and sumptuous courtyard [...]. Against all this, not only architects and every other person of intelligence protests, but also the very Cardinals. Thus mankind and edifices have to go through all kinds of trouble, and only Castle Sant Angelo celebrates a new victory, for in exchange of stones it fills its coffers with gold”⁹⁹. So, the question remains: what was the purpose of the street works?

Burroughs saw these street works as being in contrast to the enclosure of deviance. Burroughs argues that Sixtus V “encouraged segregation by instituting incentives for settlement along the new boulevards, well away from older centers of population”¹⁰⁰. Almost as an early prototype of contemporary practices of market-driven development, the area of the Quirinal Hill, with its new ample streets and water, was soon to be a new area of palaces that would only increase in the centuries to come. Burroughs argues, Sixtus V’s aim was a plan not only of spatial segregation but also of “a whole new apparatus of welfare and discipline”.¹⁰¹ Yet, perhaps instead of taking this disciplinary effect for granted, we might consider for a moment the role of formalizing the rituals of pilgrimage processions through the streets.

From the brief synopsis of Sixtus V’s works above we begin to see that there is a sense in which the diversity of his city works extended the control of the papal court over most of the activities of the city and its inhabitants, spheres that were previously outside of the direct intervention of the Roman Christian Church. Sixtus’ city works, and his financial and administrative campaigns, all constitute a form of power which begins to manifest its absolute supremacy in the sphere of ordinary activities. In addition to shaping Rome as “the house of religion”,¹⁰² and “the capital of the Christian world (*caput mundi*)”, which Sixtus V so heavily emphasized, perhaps what he was also setting in motion was an ad hoc strategy that would use the city to instruct its inhabitants regarding how to act and perform in the public space.

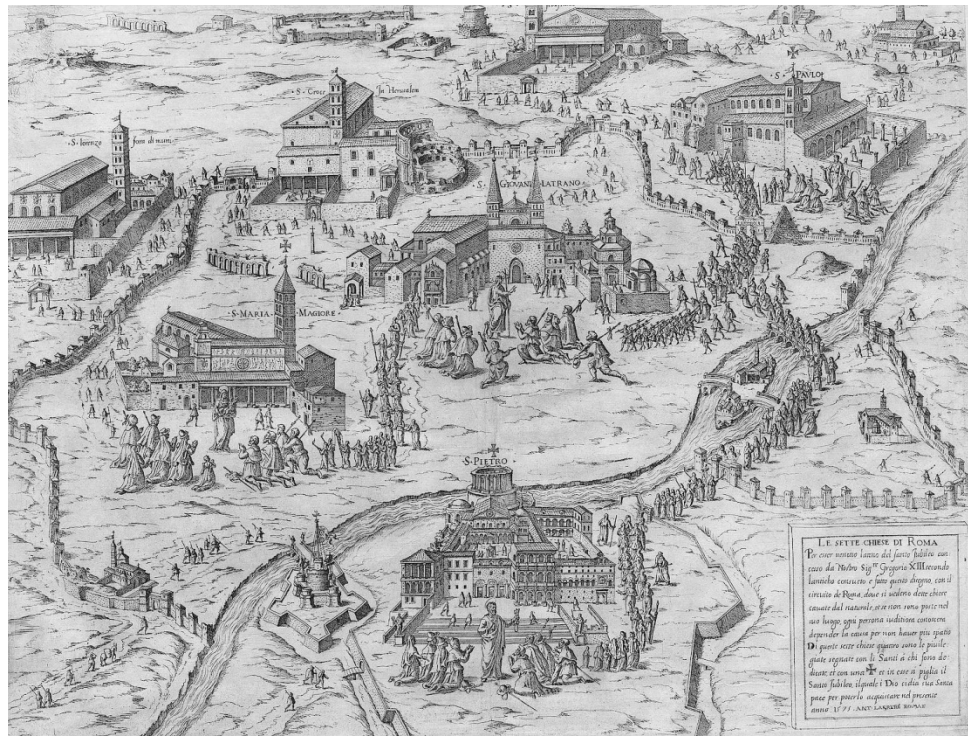
Streets, we know well, are not only infrastructural: they are also sites of struggle, protest and manifestation. Nevertheless, streets are also not only sites of confrontation: they are also sites in which normalizing regimes can be established. Streets are sites in which what is rendered visible could constitute experiential relations between the city dwellers and the organizational mechanisms of power. In other words, streets do not only facilitate the movement of people from destination to destination, but, more importantly for our purposes, streets serve the establishment of social patterns through which rituals can be repeated and where the presentation of power can be displayed. The latter was precisely the use that began to be set in motion through the street works of Sixtus V. The streets were not only used to institutionalize pilgrimage rituals, but also to assist in the constitution of the ‘pope-king’s absolute power. Below, I will argue that the streets improved by Sixtus V were not elements of transit, but *conduits of conduct*. It is by looking at these streets, understood as ‘conduits of conduct’, that we can perhaps create a clearer picture of the centralization of structural practices during the papacy of Sixtus V, the constitution of his role as a sovereign figure—what Paolo Prodi referred as the ‘pope-king’—and the institutionalization of practices of the everyday. This is not to deny the fact that the interventions of Sixtus V were a sort of amalgam of the city works of his predecessors, but, rather, to understand that the intensity in culminating such piecemeal city works into a more coherent city strategy was tied to the attempt to construct a specific visibility of Sixtus V’s ruling with a series of pre-existing popular practices. To understand this, it is instructive to juxtapose two etchings: *Le Sette Chiese di Roma* published by Antonio Lafreri in 1575,¹⁰³ and *Ordine della Cavalcata pontificale dal Vaticano al possesso di S. Giovanni Laterano* by Ioh. Guerra in 1585.

The first etching is a popular Counter-Reformation souvenir portraying the seven most frequented churches that served as pilgrimage stations in Rome: S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Pietro, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Sebastiano, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and S. Croce in Gerusalemme. The churches and lines of pilgrims are the main elements of the etching. The churches are enlarged and depicted in careful detail. The pilgrims are disproportionately depicted in relation to the architecture, but their organization remains striking: they are not depicted as crowds, but as an organized line of bodies moving sinuously between the churches. The rest of the city is reduced to a few artifacts, ruins and objects that were also part of the pilgrimage experience. The hills of Rome are reduced to small monticules, facilitating the journey between churches. The rest of the city is presented as a void. Rome, here, is reduced to the pilgrimage event, its objects of veneration, and the pilgrims who are drawn from artifact to artifact.

The second etching commemorates the sumptuous cavalcade along *via Papalis* that for centuries had accompanied the new elected pope in his coronation—the ceremony referred to as the *possesso*. Guerra depicts in detail the order of the entourage accompanying Sixtus V—from the cardinals to the soldiers, as they moved from the Vatican to the Lateran. In contrast to Lafreri’s etching, where the bird’s eye view and the consistent architectural elements in the city make it possible to situate the

event as intrinsically belonging to the city, in Guerra's etching the city is only implicit. Except for a faint depiction of the Lateran at the top left, there are no architectural elements marking the route. The city is, otherwise, entirely absent. The streets, houses and palaces that would have surrounded the procession have disappeared. Here, there is nothing but a perfectly ordered and detailed synchronized line of subjects at the service of the pope. The city is reduced to the pope and his entourage as they arrange themselves around the figure of the pope—or perhaps we could say the city is reduced to its very government.

Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla. *Le Sette Chiese di Roma*
In Antonio Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*
1575



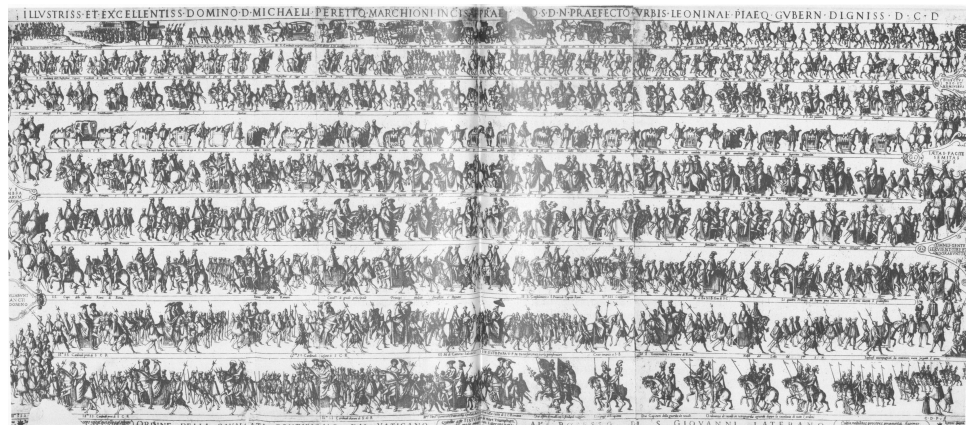
If we do not look closely into the detail of Guerra's etching, the figure of the pope can be lost among his court. As opposed to the murals in Salone Sistino of the Vatican Library that depict this procession and that present Sixtus V in the foreground, his figure exalted by his attire, in Guerra's etching Sixtus V appears in the lower center of the etching, a Japanese umbrella signals his presence and remind us of the Japanese ambassadors that were part of the solemn event. This umbrella brings attention to the figure of the pope, his imperial ambitions, and his persona in relation to his organized structure. According to Irene Fosi, Sixtus V's *possession* followed the model of enthronement of Pius V¹⁰⁴, where pomp and lavishness were replaced by liberality in the popular events that accompanied the ceremony. In this way, Sixtus V's *possession* was not only a representation of his persona and his absolute power, it was also a representation of his court acting as one body, and his image of 'good justice', as emphasized by Fosi. It is in this way that Sixtus V's *possession* becomes a peculiar "demonstration of power"¹⁰⁵. We have to remember that, historically, the visibility of the pope was restricted to this event, the Jubilee, the ceremony of the Annunciation, that of *Corpus Domini*, and solemn events of this type¹⁰⁶. There were only a few occasions in the liturgical calendar when the pope was visible to the people. Except for these choreographed events, popes during this time often

lived a life out of sight of the public eye. As Helge Gamrath explains, a public appearance of the pope among the Christian people (*clerus et populus christianus*) was, during the cinquecento, a rather rare phenomenon¹⁰⁷.

Sala Sistina. Biblioteca Vaticana. *Presa di Possesso del Laterano per Sisto V, cogli ambasciata Giapponesi*, 1585



loh. Guerra. *Ordine della Cavalcata pontificale dal Vaticano al possesso di S. Giovanni Laterano*, 1585



This changed with Sixtus V. He not only proposed an extraordinary Jubilee in 1585, which required his active participation in the events, he also proclaimed that the popes had to partake in popular and more regular processions, such as the pilgrimage to the seven churches portrayed in Lafreri's etching. This was not unprecedented: it had been part of the early years of the Christian Church, in what was known as the paleo-Christian tradition. It had been practiced by popes Leone Magno (440–461) and Gregorio Magno (590–604). During Sixtus' time, it was a popular practice that had actively carried out by the followers of the priest Filippo Neri (1515–1595). However, Sixtus V institutionalized this procession and made it part of the formal liturgical annual calendar with his Bull *Egregia Populi Romani Pietas* of 1588¹⁰⁸. Together with its inclusion in the liturgical calendar, the spatial formalization of the route through Sixtus V's improvement of the streets that connected some of the basilicas, the translocation of obelisks to mark the stations, and the insistence on the participation of the pope in the event, was to give this procession a rather political use. What Sixtus V proposed, which is often overlooked and which Gamrath emphasizes, was the operative use of the popular procession to the seven basilicas as a means to affirm and constitute the sovereign power invested in the pope, and his relation both to his courtly governmental machinery and to the people of Rome¹⁰⁹. It

was through the staging of the presence of Sixtus V among the people of Rome that his temporal power was to be asserted. Allegiance, as it appears here, was to be constituted not only through an abstract set of administrative and centralized practices, and preventive mechanisms, but also through the sensorial relation to the figure of the sovereign, his court, and his procedures.

In this way, Sixtus V not only reinstated the long paleo-Christian tradition in which the whole community gathered together for liturgical purposes, but, more importantly, he allowed for the continuous appearance of the pope among the community together with his newly restructured court. The streets, it could be said, were a means by which to incorporate existing rituals for the purpose of cultivating the sovereign figure of the pope-king and his governmental machinery in a particular sensorial relation to the people of Rome. As Irene Fosi has stated: “A pacified city and a tamed nobility were to serve as spectators for a parade that would in its symbolic progress expound the pontiff’s complete conquest of the city”.¹¹⁰ Yet Sixtus’ conquest was not only attained by the singular event which Fosi emphasizes, but also by the constant appropriation of rituals, spectacles and devices, which in turn gave power its capacity to reproduce. To tie together these two realms was crucial to Sixtus V’s papacy: spectacle and the construction of conduct went hand in hand.

These rituals, which already had an established cultural prestige, were reinstated, without, however, following a ‘truthful’ reproduction of Christian doctrine. Their use was instrumental and the ambition to re-enact them was a loose interpretation of the foundational model. An example of this could be seen in Sixtus V’s interpretation of the seven basilicas of the pilgrimage in Rome. In his Bull, *Egregia populi romani*, Sixtus gives much credit to the mystical number seven, which refers to the seven apocalyptic churches of Asia Minor in early Christianity, which in the Bible designated not so much the physical altars but more the community of faithful. In the bull, Sixtus V stated: “these seven churches demonstrate the union of all the church and its perfection as the head of the church that resides in Rome, from where it derives the unity of the entire church”.¹¹¹ Yet, soon later, as he refers to those basilicas in Rome that were used to re-enact such biblical moment, he changes the churches that were traditionally used for this role. For example, instead of including the church of S. Sebastian among the tradition seven churches, he uses instead that of S. Maria Popolo, without any precedent, or clear justification.¹¹² This strategic reinterpretation, from the ideal doctrine to its operative use, is a gesture that is symbolic of a larger series of operative appropriations of rituals and practices by which Sixtus V cultivated the absolute power of the pope-king by co-opting the existing practices of the populace.

Other examples tell a similar story. Again, in relation to the procession of the seven churches, we can take the example of the obelisks, which were previously an object of pagan veneration and which during Sixtus V’s rule were systematically ‘converted’ and transposed to signpost a few of the pilgrimage stations. Sixtus’ appropriation of pagan artifacts was a rather curious rejection of paganism, one that distances him from the model in whom he constantly found inspiration--pope

Gregorio Magno (590–604), who was known as the ‘Destroyer of Pagan Idols’. Sixtus V was interested in the operative ‘conversion’ of these artifacts. As Domenico Fontana, who had been in charge of the transposition of obelisks, recorded: Sixtus V “sought with all possible force not only to repress, but indeed, to remove the memory of the idols that were so exalted by the pagans in their pyramids, obelisks, columns, temples, and other famous buildings, and on the contrary to exalt in every way the mysteries and ministers of the Catholic religion”.¹¹³ In other words, Sixtus used the ‘converted’ idols to exalt the Church, whereas others such as Gregorio Magno would have obliterated them. As Michael Cole comments: “whereas Gregory, to follow the chroniclers, had ritually dismembered the city’s *imagines daemonem*, Sixtus fixed what was in disrepair, added missing parts, and made the ‘idols’ into prominent urban features”¹¹⁴. Another example was the way in which Sixtus V intervened in regularizing the practices of the carnival festivities, in which customarily the Church was expected to be tolerant.¹¹⁵ These appropriations of common cultural, ritual and cultic practices became common practice under Sixtus V’s papacy. In other words, these appropriations transformed existing customs that already had a cultural prestige into a performative act which could produce and reproduce a certain type of conduct. By spatializing existing practices of devotion, Sixtus V not only represented ideals of the triumphant Church but guaranteed they would become an everyday practice.

It is as such that we can perhaps see how the two etchings, that of Lafreri and that of Guerra, are complementary. While in the first etching, the city is reduced to the pilgrimage event, in the *possesso* the city is supplemented by the pope and his court. Together, the subjects and power are bound through space itself. It is as if the streets’ purpose is not only to make visible the new constitution of power in the city, but by using them as a mechanism of conduct. His papacy can be understood precisely as the conflation of these two drawings, where people, court and sovereign partake in the ritual which constitutes the temporal power of the pope-king. The city, which is either abstracted or absent from the etchings, is only constituted itself through the construction of a choreographed experience. It is in this sensorial understanding of the city and power that the streets remind us of the power of habits, experience and the realm of immediacy. The streets were not simply a strictly religious device: they began to be merged with the convoluted formation and the constitution of the temporal power of the pope-king, and that of collective conduct. More than simply seeing the streets as a representation of traditions or of the pope himself, the alignment of the pope’s visibility with a repetitive ritual should be seen as a novel means by which early modern power was constituted. The repetition that was unavoidable given this type of event was not only intended to serve a didactic purpose of the kind that is typical of a liturgical ceremony, they were liturgy itself—practices that were constitutive of power, as we will see in the next section.

To consider this liturgical connotation is not, however, to bring back the emphasis to the Counter-Reformation. The city was a space that was perhaps considered neutral, of no interest to the Council of Trent,¹¹⁶ which, under Sixtus V, acquired its most distinctive political role, not for what the city represented but for the conduct the city began to prescribe. This emphasis on putting into practice

liturgy, to place an emphasis on creating public rituals which were nevertheless mandatory, is something we can perhaps call 'cultic dwelling'—a form in which a constructed activity in space was crucial to the constitution of power. The analysis of Sixtus V allows to open other forms of understanding the modern city and its role in designating the seamlessly repetition of conduct, a performativity around objects, a form of orientation not only in space but also of the self. Cults orient, demand and form those who follow them. This is perhaps the lesson that Sixtus V gave to modern forms of urbanism. Urbanism, which we tend to see today as a scientific, logical process, might also be understood as the constant maintenance of rituals which are nevertheless political, and that form subjectivity.

III

Liturgy

After decades of understanding the Sistine works as a ‘modern plan’, of prioritizing the diagrammatic analysis of these works, of emphasizing their ‘modern spirit’, it is important to understand these works in their own right. We should attempt to analyze them not through the lens of modernist planning and its regimes of function, infrastructure, or efficiency, but rather to question their original role as a liturgical act. As we said before, scholars ranging from Colin Rowe and Helge Gamrath to Cesare D’Onofrio have already identified a liturgical function in Sixtus V’s work. Yet little has been said about the implications of this reading. To shed light on this, we will draw on Giorgio Agamben’s genealogical understanding of liturgy in order to pose a number of spatial questions. How can the city become a medium of liturgy or a medium in which to install liturgical practices? If liturgy, as we will see, is a practice which cultivates the spiritual power of the Church, what does it mean that, with Sixtus V, this practice became the guiding principle by which the entire space of the city was structured?

In his investigation into the history of liturgy, Giorgio Agamben reminds us that it is a relatively modern term, only appearing in Latin in the seventeenth century, and used more markedly at the end of the nineteenth century.¹¹⁷ Prior to this, what we know as liturgy was rooted in two terms, in the Greek *leitourgia*, and in the Latin *officium*. To understand these terms is to open our understanding of liturgy's political role. In his reference to "*Leitourgia*, from *laos* (people) and *ergon* (work)"¹¹⁸ Agamben refers us to classical Greece, where liturgy was used to designate "the obligation that the city imposed on the citizens who had a certain income to provide a series of services for the common interest".¹¹⁹ This term, Agamben suggests, was used in the first translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, where *leitourgia* designated the cultic practices that took place in the temple.¹²⁰ As Agamben notes, the selection of this term, which had previously been used to recall the imposition of public duties, to instead designate cultic activities is crucial for the history of the Christian Church. It sets the tone for the embrace of cultic practices as a public practice, with potential political implications. Agamben complements this understanding by following the genealogy of other Latin terms associated with the divine service of the priest or the sacrifice of Christ, such as *munus*¹²¹ (service, office, post, duty, gift) and *ministerium* (service, office, work, ministry). Yet, for Agamben it is the Latin *officium*, commonly translated as duty, the connotation of liturgy that prevailed until the end of the nineteenth century. Ever since the fourth century, when Ambrose, one of the Latin Christian fathers of the Church, in his book on "The Virtues and Duties of the Clergy",¹²² selected the term *officium*¹²³, it was used to denote cultic practices of the clergy. Whether these practices were referred with the Greek *leitourgia*, or with the Latin *officium*, what was at stake, according to Agamben, was a decisive moment for the history of the Christian Church, when duty began more clearly to enter into the sphere of morals.

One of the crucial implications of Agamben's genealogical argument is that it re-centers the importance of rituals. In Agamben's genealogy, rituals are not only liturgical gestures, a sort of excess, or decoration of Christian practices, they are in fact acts which are constitutive of the Christian Church. Agamben constructs his argument by building on the philological studies of Odo Casel (1886–1948), a Benedictine monk whose investigations indicated that "liturgical texts and sacramentaries come before that of Scripture or of theological texts".¹²⁴ Casel confirmed the fundamental primacy of liturgy (acting) over doctrine (being). That is to say that it is the practice rather than the doctrine which constitutes and confirms the mysteries of the Christian Church. Liturgy, as Agamben argued, is the action that "each time renders present in ritual form the salvific praxis of Christ [...] the worshipping community obtains salvation by entering into contact with this praxis."¹²⁵ This is what Agamben refers to as the *indistinguishability of being and acting*, that which is at the very heart of liturgy. In other words, "it is a matter of showing how one must act in order to be able to be".¹²⁶ Agamben argues that the Church has continuously attempted to conceal the primacy of liturgy, as it undermines the dogmatic nature of Christian faith in favor of its cultic activities. However, on both sides of the debate, liturgy is recognized as referring to not only an action but also an effect. For example, the liturgical reform of 1947 promulgated in the encyclical *Mediator Dei* by the

controversial Pope Pius XII, who ruled between 1939 to 1958 and who saw from a distance the terrible use of acclamations and rituals by the Nazi regime, states “the efficacy [of worship] derives first of all and principally from the act itself (*ex opere operato*)”.¹²⁷ Put differently, liturgy, for Pius XII, is not only a voluntary *duty* which is performative—whether this is in the form of the original sacraments (baptism, marriage, Eucharist, etc) or in its consecutive development¹²⁸ (processions, indulgences, etc)—it is promulgated on the basis that it produces an *effect*.¹²⁹ Put simply, performative duties cannot be separated from the production of an effect. Duty and effect are not only indistinguishable from one another, they are also constitutive of each other. This understanding of liturgy poses new questions about the role of Sixtus V’s works. What was the role of space in mediating these liturgical practices? How did it contribute to the effect of liturgy? And what can we understand from such spatial performance, which might have gone beyond its theological consequences?

In this context, it is crucial to remember that in the same encyclical, Pius XII confirms the institutionalization of liturgy that Sixtus V helped put in place,¹³⁰ and names as a “liturgical development” the “station” processions in Rome, suggesting the spatial and architectural dimensions of the programs Sixtus V employed. Not only this: Pius XII also emphasizes the role of the visual arts, as follows: “It is likewise easy to understand that the progress of the fine arts, those of architecture, painting and music above all, has exerted considerable influence on the choice and disposition of the various external features of the sacred liturgy”.¹³¹ Pius XII recognizes that the visual and spatial experience increases the efficacy of liturgy. However, even more than increasing the efficacy of liturgy, Agamben shows that it is precisely its effect to constitute power itself. In other words, following Agamben, the liturgical stations of Sixtus V are not only practices of glorification, representational instances of the Christian Church: they are also practices that constitute through their performance the very glory and power of the pope-king’s power.

But what is the nature of this power? In theological works, as Agamben argues, the administering of order is usually invested in intermediary bodies. Whether these are priests, angels, or the liturgical rites, there is a clear system of mediation between the faithful and the divine. This is clear in Thomas Aquinas’ *Treatise on the Conservation and Government of Creatures*.¹³² In several instances Aquinas emphasizes how divine government is carried out through *intermediaries*. Two sections from the treatise are particularly instructive in this regard. The first follows Aquinas’ question: “Whether all things are immediately governed by God?”¹³³ In reflecting on this question, Aquinas insists on distinguishing between the design of government by God and its execution by other means. “Aquinas maintains ... that a government is more perfect if it uses *intermediaries* for its execution”.¹³⁴ From a different perspective, Aquinas poses another question which brings to the fore the effects of the execution of government. He asks: “Whether fate is in created things?”¹³⁵ Aquinas replies that “the divine providence brings to completion its effects using *intermediate* causes”¹³⁶. The role of intermediaries appears thus to be the central mechanism to put into effect divine government.

If, as Cesare D'Onofrio has argued, Sixtus V's group of stations is a "liturgical ring road",¹³⁷ its use is not only to mark pilgrimage stations, it also serves as an instrument by which to institutionalize rituals and other public practices of the Christian Church. The pilgrimage stations are not only signposts orienting the faithful toward a destination, they are also *mediums* by which the pope-king establishes rituals and conduct, that are crucial to the constitution of his own power. Streets and obelisks together institute a performative practice of devotional experience which not only contributes to the effect of power, but arguably also constructs it.

Obelisks: The Spatialization of Liturgy

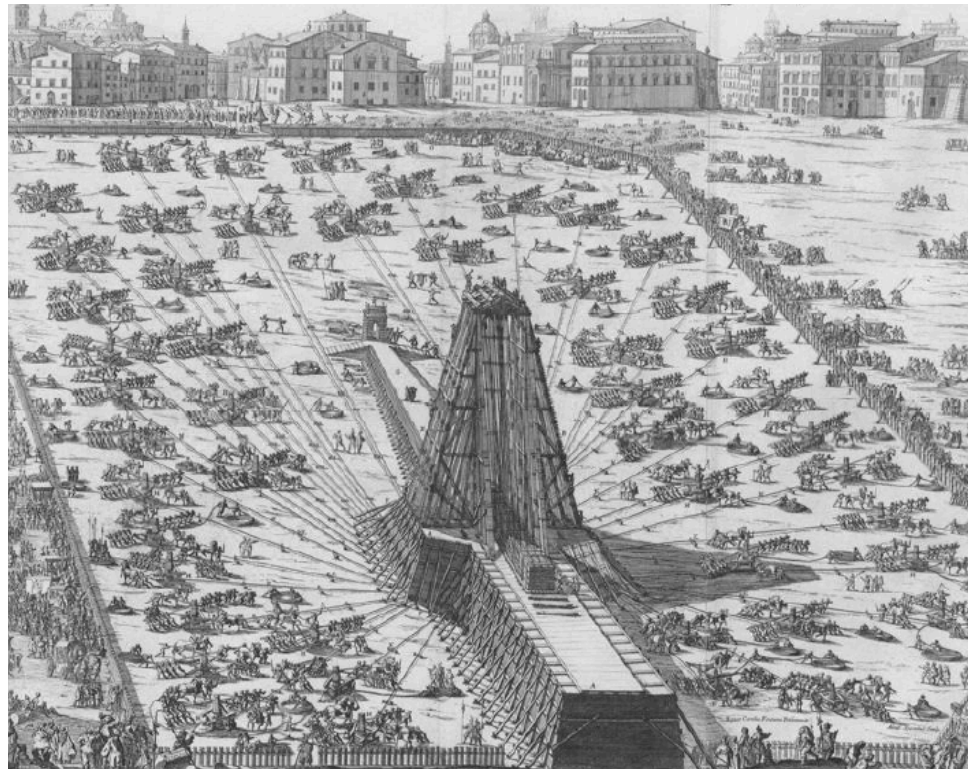
It is time to return to the question of the four obelisks transposed by Sixtus V. Prior to his papacy, these mysterious objects, whose history was then either unknown or shrouded in legend, formed part of the collective imagination. Before their spectacular relocation, as ordered by Sixtus V, these artifacts, were buried, or in a state of deterioration, but its potential restoration had already occupied the minds of Sixtus' predecessors. Nicholas V, Leo X, Paul III and Gregory XIII all contemplated their transposition but feared failure in this regard.¹³⁸ It was only due to the determination of Sixtus V that the obelisks came to occupy prominent spaces in Rome, signposting the most important religious buildings. First, in 1586, the Vatican obelisk was re-erected at the center of St. Peter's square. A year later, the Esquiline obelisk was moved to the west of S. Maria Maggiore. In 1588, the Lateran obelisk was resettled in front of the Laterano complex. And in 1599, the Flaminio obelisk was positioned in the center of today's Piazza Popolo. After the transposition, under Sixtus V, the obelisks would stand within the soon-to-be-formed 'public squares'—not only to prove that all things could be converted under the power of the pope, but perhaps also, with their monumental appearance, to prove that the profane spaces of the city, where the ordinary actions of the citizens took place, were now also the site of political intervention.

Sections of the city were reorganized through the spatial relation between the transposed obelisks, the new aligned streets and the basilicas they signpost. The slender profane artifacts, the basilicas and the streets now also established a new set of spatial relations with the moving subject. When the obelisks are observed from the aligned streets that lead one toward the obelisks, the presence of the obelisks at the center of the cone of vision seems to create a brief moment of visual rupture, breaking the otherwise complete image of the church. This rupture is created by the obelisks' character as empty signifiers: a mass devoid of meaning, whose history is precisely that of endless appropriations of its massive portraiture.¹³⁹ For Sixtus V, this was precisely the intention. As recorded by Domenico Fontana, Sixtus' aim was "to cancel the worldly glory of the pagans [...] to serve as ornament to the churches and places where they are erected [...] and, an everlasting testimony of the piety and devotion to the holy cross",¹⁴⁰ which was placed at the top of the obelisk. In other words, Sixtus V

attempted to purge the obelisks of any of their historical ascriptions—to present them as nothing but a mass in space. This conversion was not only restricted to their ‘ceremonial exorcism’, or their re-signification when they were capped on the top with Christian insignias and, on the bottom, inscribed with statements that reinforced the triumphal Church: it was also reinforced by a practice of veneration toward these objects. Following their transposition and ‘conversion’, the pope granted, according to Domenico Fontana, a perpetual “indulgence to whoever, passed by, contrived and having confessed, pray kneeling to the holy cross placed atop the needle”.¹⁴¹ With the promise of an afterlife in heaven, the Church, through the performative practices around the obelisks, wanted perhaps to capture, to co-opt, that empty signifier, that subtle spatial fissure that, with a sliver of its mass, seemed to break the unity of the Church in the background.

The process of appropriating the obelisks began with the spectacular and highly affective move of the first one from the place where it had stood for centuries, occupying the triumphal center of Nero’s Circus, to the center of what would come to be known as St. Peter’s square. The preparations began with an extensive deforestation of oaks from the Campagna, to serve the massive scaffold system that was to protect the obelisk on its journey.¹⁴² This was followed by a large demolition of a section of the old basilica of St. Peter’s in order to make way for the rotation of the scaffolding around the obelisk. On the day of the erection, almost a thousand men¹⁴³ were involved in what was the greatest

Carlo Fontana. ‘Disposition e Veduta Generale Delle Machine che Servirono per Alzare L’Obelisco Vaticano.’ 1694. In: *Templum Vaticanum et ipsius origo*. Rome. Liber III. Plate 169

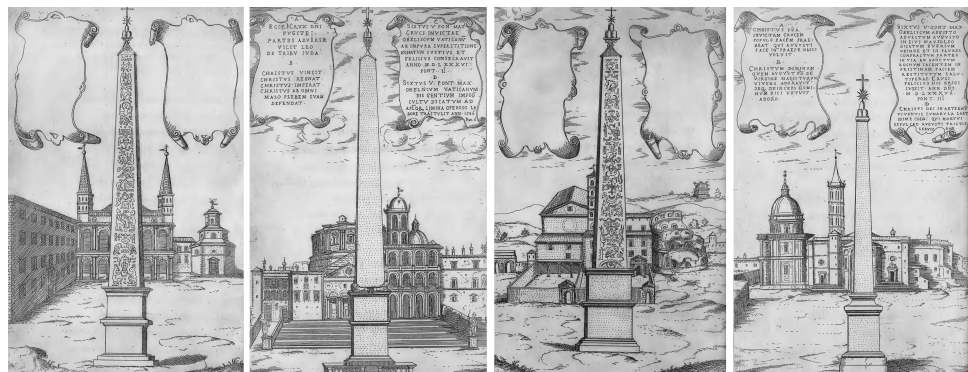


engineering feat led by Domenico Fontana. According to Fontana, “a huge crowd gathered to observe the undertaking, the streets were barred to prevent the disorder such a multitude might cause. And, an edict decreed that on the day set for raising the obelisk [...] whoever broke through the barricade was subject to death, and whoever in any way speak, or spit, or made any kind of noise was to be seriously penalized.”¹⁴⁴ This served a practical purpose, since his voice, as the captain of the works, would have

had to have been heard by the large crew. However, one cannot help but imagine how this sublime silence must have been experienced by the crowd and across the city as a whole. As Fontana put it: “practically all of Rome had thronged together. [...] At the first motion, it seemed as if the earth shook, and the scaffold let out a great noise as all its timbers tightened under the weight.”¹⁴⁵— It was a breathtaking performance, in which what was experienced was not so much the power of the pope, but the power of the city’s transformation in a rather visceral manner.

Symbolized by the mandatory silence imposed on the citizens, this spectacular irruption into the everyday life of Rome represented a moment in which the power of the Church deepened its purchase on the affective experience of the lives of its subjects. This expression of a visceral power in space was not a singular event: it suggests a rather deliberate program in which the transformation of Rome would become increasingly indistinguishable from the transformation of the nature of papal power itself. In describing the extension, alignment and leveling of the streets that formed the sequence of pilgrimage stops, which the obelisks punctuated, Domenico Fontana stated that the new Roman streets “nourish not only devotions but also, with their charm, the bodily senses.”¹⁴⁶ The sensorial nature of this event was clearly an effort to leave a long-standing affective trace that would be concretized in the spaces of the city by the placement of the obelisks—an act that would be confirmed with the mandatory processions instituted to take place along the new streets and promoted by the many incentives to venerate the obelisks in return for indulgences.

Io Francisci Bordini. 1588. De Rebus Preclare Gestis a Sixto V Pon Max. Plates 19, 22, 44, 62.

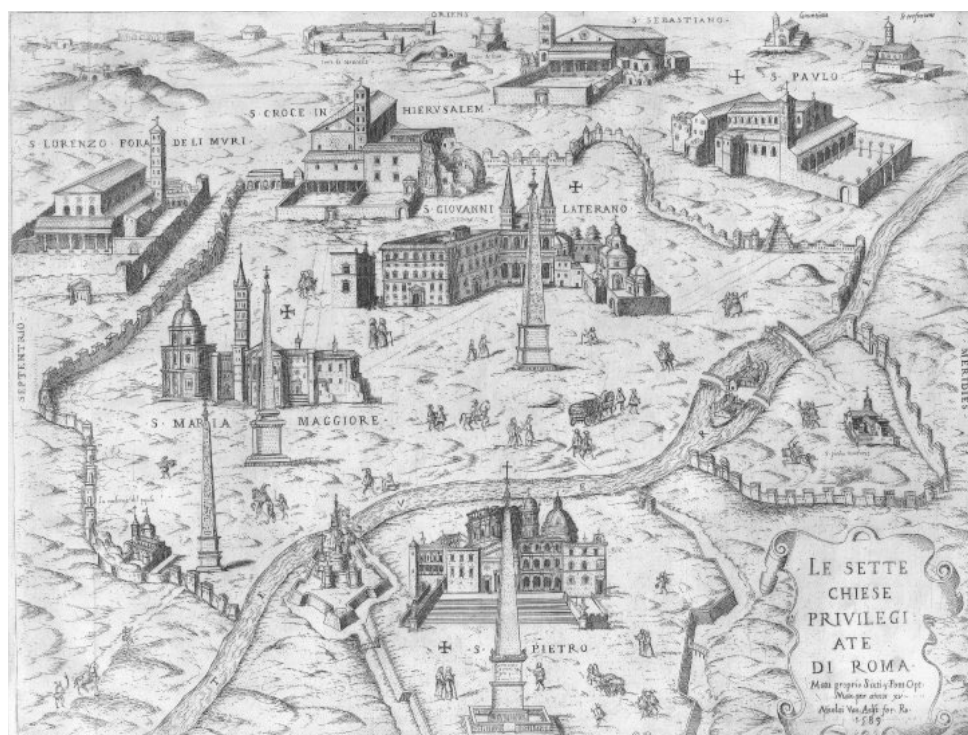


We begin to understand here a certain contradiction of the papacy in regard to its desire to intervene in the profane spaces of Rome of the time. The event was at once violent and sensuous: violent in the exercise of an absolute power wielded by the pope to force the citizens of Rome to participate in the city’s transformation; and sensuous in so far, as it was entirely through the sensorial experience of this transformation that power could be perceived. Wondrously affective, the series of performative acts that the obelisks represented, from their erection to the processions they dictated, illustrate the attempt to call the attention of the subject through a new form of sensorial commands. Through a mixture of sensorial commands, the power invested in the pope communicated at once his power to decide and his power to touch the subjects’ perceptual world. This was perhaps a new subject-sovereign relation that was cultivated by Sixtus V, one that does not only resonate with the quasi-Hobbesian awe of the event, but that moves beyond the awe, by instead proposing a new sensorial relation enabled through

rituals. Through these sensorial commands a new intention was perhaps revealed that aimed to captivate the citizens' affection. Perhaps this is another form of cultivating what Brivio in the previous chapter referred to as "citizen's love". As Eleanor Wilkinson has recently argued, reading Spinoza's theory of joy alongside Michael Hardt's use of love as a political concept, "love is both joyful and painful, enduring and transient, expansive and territorial, revolutionary and conservative".¹⁴⁷ If at the center of love as a political concept lies the potential of collective transformation, as Hardt has stated,¹⁴⁸ this transformation, Wilkinson argues, can only be understood as being the very paradox of the assertion of power. In the case of Sixtus V, this was perhaps an attempt by the Church in turbulent times to expand and legitimize its absolute power through a new form of affective power.

At the same time, one can consider the deliberate juxtaposition of the obelisk with the basilica. While this relation might at first appear wholly uncontroversial, in a series of engravings of the obelisks that appeared at the time we can see a rather striking depiction of this relation. A remarkable consistency in representation marks the depiction of the obelisks from the engravings which accompanied Domenico Fontana's personal account of the works of 1590, to those drawn to accompany Francesco Bordini's panegyric of Sixtus V's works of 1588¹⁴⁹, and even to a set of engravings published by Nicolas van Aelst as part of the compendium, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* of 1589.¹⁵⁰ Throughout these plates, one is struck by a certain relation between obelisk and basilica in which the obelisk's dimensions are exaggerated, allowing it to dominate the foreground of the image. At the same time its monolithic portraiture subjects the background—occupied by the basilica—to a subordinated status. Everything that surrounds the obelisk—the setting of the square, human figures, etc.—is also diminished, with their dwarfed stature, next to the artificially enlarged obelisk. This dominance of the mass consistently fragments the basilica behind it. Despite its slender mass, the monolithic appearance of the obelisk acts as a kind of rupture in the continuity of the image—a clear slate erasing a section of the background occupied by the basilica. The imposition of the obelisks, it seems, does violence to the very institutions that they are meant to exalt.

Anonymous, *Le Sette Chiese Privilegiata di Roma*, 1589. In *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Printed by Nicolas van Aelst.



To understand the spatial role of the obelisks as a fissure may open up the contradiction of the appropriation of pagan objects for use as liturgical devices. The fissure implied in these engravings suggests a rupture in the political stability of the Church, whose internal forces were no longer sufficient without absorbing the profane spaces of the city as a means to re-establish its control. In such a case, the ‘fissure’ of the Church that the obelisk imposes becomes a symbol of the struggle to reaffirm the universal power of the Church without its recourse to secular means. It signals the confrontation of the waning of the transcendental power, on the basis of which the Church had existed for centuries, with the emergence of a new sphere of an immanent power that would preside over the control of the spaces of the city and that of the conduct of its citizens. This ‘fissure’ can be seen as the potential of the mass of stone, devoid of meaning, to resist its appropriation, to resist belonging to its rather forced relation with the Church. Instead, the fissure obstructed the Church’s view as a metaphorical sign of its resistance. Put differently, on the one hand, these engravings suggest the reinvention of papal power and its becoming performative, public, mediated, as well as a full embrace of its liturgical practices as a primary means to reproduce itself, and, on the other hand, they seem to signal a recognition that the power of the Church was now fully invested in the volatile, secular affairs of state matters, in the active transformation of the immanent world, and, more importantly, the perpetual intervention in the sphere of ordinary human activities. In brief, for Sixtus V, the city seems to have become a cultic device—one that realized its spiritual doctrine increasingly in the sensorial practices and choreographic events of the material world.

Cura Pontifica: The Politics of Spatial Care

Agamben argues that liturgy faded away in the sixteenth century but returned surprisingly in the 1920s when it was “revived by theologians and musicologists at precisely the moment in which, with the irony which History is so fond, the European political scene was dominated by the emergence of totalitarian regimes”.¹⁵¹ In identifying this revival, Agamben argues that the choreography of power established through a culture of acclamations, rituals and worship is not only aesthetic but is also closer to something that is “constitutive and legally effective”.¹⁵² It could be said, then, that liturgy defines a sphere that is not only affective but also instructs a subject as to how he/she ought to act, perceive and dwell. However, one wonders if the retreat of liturgy that Agamben identifies with the sixteenth century perhaps overlooks the efforts of the popes to spatialize liturgy. This idea of the spatialization of liturgy should not be limited solely to monumental spatial acts, it also applies to the rituals the obelisks instruct. The obelisk is not only a ‘clear slate’ resisting its appropriation, it is especially a device in which to inscribe other values and practices. Sixtus V’s project to create his “new Rome”¹⁵³ in the area of the Quirinal Hill was formed not only by the obelisks which oriented the pilgrims to the centers of worship, but was perceived in the distribution of worship they engendered through daily activities that were orchestrated around a cult of Sixtus V himself. The provision of

water, laundry facilities, factories, houses, and streets that bore his name, served as a constant, sensuous reminder that the lives of the people of Rome were cared for by the absolute power invested in the pope. As Charles Burroughs states: “[Sixtus V’s] new streets as sites of the circulation no less of information and injunctions than of persons and goods, served as instruments of an authoritarian, spatial semiosis of distinctive and novel character. This was intimately—and, to some degree, consciously—related to habits of thought and representation fundamental in the evolving mental worlds of late Renaissance Italy”.¹⁵⁴ Daily activities were embraced by the papacy, not only to manifest the pope’s power, but to form a particular subject of papal power. The space of the city, through its ritualized practices, began inscribing into its spaces a set of habits and conduct to be performed, whose doctrinal referents remained only in its transposition by Sixtus V. As such, Rome became not the representation of the power of the Christian Church, but rather a medium of a new and cultic form of power.

By ‘spatial liturgy’, I am trying to conceptualize a ritualistic use of space in which citizens dwell that has a constitutive role in their formation as subjects. In a manner much like Foucault’s work on ‘the art of government’, in which, following Guillaume de La Perrière’s writings of 1567, Foucault described government as the “right disposition of things arranged as to lead to a convenient end”,¹⁵⁵ the term spatial liturgy as used here aims to convey the way in which the organization of space and its presentation to those who dwell in it and perceive its cues, enforces a conduct that one could associate with a form of government. Let us recall Foucault’s well-known passage on the pastorate in relation to ‘governmentality’:

“In Christianity the pastorate gave rise to an art of conducting, directing, leading, guiding, taking in hand, and manipulating men, an art of monitoring them and urging them on step by step, an art with the function of taking charge of men collectively and individually throughout their life and at every moment of their existence... The pastorate does not coincide with politics, pedagogy, or rhetoric. It is something entirely different. It is an art of ‘governing men’, and I think this is where we should look for the origin, the point of formation, of crystallization, the embryonic point of the governmentality whose entry into politics, at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, marks the threshold of the modern state. The modern state is born, I think, when governmentality became a calculated and reflected practice.”¹⁵⁶

It is thus not surprising that by extending liturgy into the city, what Sixtus V did was to return liturgy to its original connotation, in which public conduct was founded through cultic practices, as opposed to being founded upon a doctrine. Nor, is it surprising that, at the same time that Agamben identifies the winding down of liturgy, Foucault introduces the early emergence of the modern state. That Sixtus V seems to sit in between their readings might not be coincidental. We cannot argue that Sixtus V calculated his effects in the manner of the modern (French) state that Foucault wrote about. But we can argue that his strategies for transforming Rome completely—financial, administrative, and spatial alike—increased his capacity to indirectly mold the practices and conduct of the ordinary lives of the Church’s subjects around the cultic practices that the Church instituted under his rule. We can also argue that, while Sixtus V only made mandatory certain processions around the seven basilicas in

Rome on specific days, each of which had its own decorum which had to be followed, their more profound effect may have been in the many incentives he offered his subjects to encourage them to make the procession an act of the everyday. We could say that Sixtus V's spatial liturgy worked not so much by commanding his subjects to engage in liturgical practices, but by coercively inscribing those practices into the daily life of the citizens of Rome.

Domenico Poggini. 1587. Sixtus V Pont Max Ann III. *Cura Pontificia*. Medal.



Sixtus V's controversial establishment of order through the massacre of bandits, which granted him the informal title of the 'iron pope', was, it could be argued, equally balanced by a strategy of care—the creation of that world of *securitas perfecta* which I analyzed at the beginning of this chapter. The command of the absolute ruler and the guidance of the pastoral were paradoxically embodied in a single figure. Sixtus V's strong hand was constantly accompanied by the image he cultivated of a pope who cared for his city through the prolific construction works and the establishment of charitable institutions—that care by which he would cultivate his 'citizens' love'. Such generosity is not only conveyed in the tone that prevails in Fontana's account of the 35 works Sixtus V oversaw, care is more explicitly connected to Sixtus V's works in the reverse of a medal that he commissioned in 1587 to celebrate the obelisk of Santa Maria Maggiore. The medal depicts the city, which is reduced to streets and the symbols of the churches that they connect. In the center appears Santa Maria Maggiore, from which four streets run, connecting the Trinità dei Monti, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, St. Croce in Gerusalemme and S. Giovanni in Laterano. With the landscape reduced to its sinuous topography, the streets to lines, the churches to symbols, the image struck onto the medal is probably one of the first abstractions of the "new Rome",¹⁵⁷ to capture Sixtus V's works, and is accompanied by the acclamation '*Cura Pontificia*':¹⁵⁸ papal care.

Charles Burroughs has interpreted the abstraction in the famous diagram of Bordini in the following year. He argues that Bordini's drawing has a relation with the portolan charts that "from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries served as practical and highly accurate aids to navigate along the indented and often dangerous coastlines of the Mediterranean."¹⁵⁹ If we extend Burroughs' argument, where the abstract depiction of the city is seen through the analogy of the dangerous seas, we may

understand that this medal portrays the city as a space of insecurity that only the actions of papal care can restore to a secure state. These act of restoration and securitization were directed not only to the expansion of liturgy into the city's spaces, but to the transformation of state practices.

IV

The Lessons of Rome

The history I have attempted to tell in this chapter recognizes that the transformations of Rome that Sixtus V oversaw were inseparable from the formation of a particular subject of papal power. The spatial transformations of Rome were first and foremost affective and performative. From the silence imposed on the crowd contemplating the transposition of the obelisk, to the appropriation of rituals, to the provision of city services under the direct care of the pope—all created a space that, from the moment of its implementation, operated at an affective level. Sixtus V created a spatial medium in which the subject faced the city as a confrontation with his or her relation to power. The performative role of liturgy legitimized to a certain extent the spatial project Sixtus V had created. But, more importantly, the effectiveness of liturgy was to make compliance indistinguishable from the construction of habits. Papal power, through the transformation of the city, now permeated the ordinary activities of its subjects, working above and beyond the role played by faith. In so far as it could produce habits, values, and social relations, the city under Sixtus V was aligned clearly with the aims of his power. The transformation of the city through financial, liturgical, and administrative practices, as we have seen above, was not simply a benevolent attempt by the pope to care for his subjects: it was a clear attempt to institutionalize this care, both at the level of administration and in the conduct of daily life. Unlike, Eugene IV, whose ‘politics of care’ operated outside the machine of state power, with Sixtus V the distribution of care for his citizens—the cultivation of ‘citizen’s love’—was not only sculpted in space but was also molded through an individual’s conduct in that space.

Yet the obelisk presents us with a formal paradox. It is, on the one hand, the symbolic object that assists the institutionalization of rituals, that symbolizes the triumphal Church, that orients the subjects from basilica to basilica. On the other hand, the obelisk, as an empty signifier deprived of meaning, creates a symbolic rupture in the otherwise complete image of the Church, now forced to become a kind of background to it. As a form, the obelisk *assists* as much as it *resists* its appropriation. Understood as a rupture, as a subtle fracture that impedes the presentation of the Church as a whole, the obelisk serves as a reminder that divine power alone no longer suffices to preserve the power of the Church. The simultaneous transformations of space and the inscription of rituals, habits and conduct of those who dwell within it, just like the obelisk, mark a shift that foregrounds a new realm of power. With Sixtus V we begin to see how power can operate in the articulation of specific ways of seeing, acting, feeling, living—articulations in the temporal. The experience of the Rome of Sixtus V cannot be separated from the imposition of an increasingly secular form of power.

As Sixtus V brought to a perceptible climax the actions of his predecessors, he confronts us with a clear profile of techniques of papal power. The city becomes more clearly the site in which to exercise papal power, a new realm in which to extend liturgical practices. The city becomes an extension of the Church's publicness, which nonetheless is essential to the production and reproduction of its own temporal power. While the techniques that Sixtus V employed—the extension of papal care through ordinary services in the city and the introduction of a liturgical experience of the city—all had religious motives, the overall effect they had was to blur the distinction between the religious and the profane, to include them all in a zone of indistinguishability. Sixtus V choreographed the expansion of religious practices so that they became inseparable from the daily experience of the city, the private habits and uses of infrastructure, and the services of personal care, and thus Sixtus V transformed permanently the consistency and meaning of these religious practices. This zone of indistinguishability was perhaps just another way of expressing power and its means of self-preservation.

I would like to return to my initial comments on the historiography of Sixtus V. I mentioned that Sixtus V was not un-modern, but rather he should not be understood as a *modernist*, as histories have often assumed. I accept Tafuri's well-known insistence that the entrance of the Sistine ensemble into modern historiography was, of course, an instrumental use of history, by which Giedion, as Tafuri argues, "eased the minds of those architects who had started the examination in depth of the Modern Movement the hard way, by showing them how well based their studies were; and to demolish polemically an academic historiographical tradition by demonstrating its poverty and the narrowness of its instruments and arguments".¹⁶⁰ Sigfried Giedion, the secretary-general of the CIAM and the 'unofficial' historian of the group, introduced Sixtus V into architectural historiography not only to defend the post-war modernist projects which had been criticized for their overly rational agendas, but

also to re-establish the role of architectural history as a discourse that was relevant to practice. After years of rejecting historical models, precedents and categories, the modernists—who were so enamored with machines, material innovations, and engineering—invited history to reappear at the center of architectural discourse as a way to construct, retroactively, as Tafuri argued, the modernist *project itself*. Sixtus V altogether lacked the credentials that Giedion gave him. In reducing the works of Sixtus V to a cohesive masterplan, Giedion misread Sixtus V, and he emptied Renaissance Rome of its own political conditions. Sixtus V was not attempting to solve the hygienic, organizational, or traffic problems of Rome, as Giedion seemed to suggest. Rather, Sixtus V was discovering and expanding a new temporal power of the papacy through which he could in turn construct a particular subject. If Sixtus V contributed to modernity, it is certainly not because “he was aware of the city as a *complex organism*”,¹⁶¹ as Giedion asserted. Sixtus V’s relevance today is that he provides a magnifying glass through which to look at the figure and actions of the pope-king, whose power would find its locus in the construction of an affective spatial apparatus, marrying the organization of space and architecture with the production and control of a desired conduct.

The reading I propose here of the centralized and liturgical strategies of Sixtus V says nothing about any modernist attempt to rationalize the city. This account reveals the simultaneity between the affective transformation of Sistine Rome and the emergence of a type of statecraft concerned with intervening in the ordinary life of its subjects. If my conceptualization of the obelisk as representing symbolically the fissure of the power of the Church is correct, then it is clear that Christian doctrine alone was not sufficient to assert the power of the pope. It was only through the intensification of renewed cultic practices that, at least in the city, subjects could be captivated and led through their own engagement with such practices. In this way, the role of the city was to become a sort of cultic medium for the production and reproduction of this rather convoluted form of papal power. If the city operated as a cultic device, it spoke to a form of power which was no longer founded upon a doctrine, or a dogma, but instead was founded upon its own self-preservation and enabled by practices inscribed in the space over which it presided. This is perhaps the lesson that we should take from the Sistine ensemble: a lesson in which temporal power is interested in constructing a subjectivity around infrastructures, performances, and architectures of affect throughout the city. If Sixtus V has something to teach moderns, it is not the rationalization of city strategies that the modernists sought, but in fact the sensual dimension of power which called for their demise.

¹ Giedion, S. "Space and the Elements of the Renaissance City." *Magazine of Art* 45. Op. cit., Also, "Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome." *Architectural Review* 111, Op. cit. And the 1954 tenth print third edition of Giedion, Sigfried. *Space, Time and Architecture*. Op. cit.

² Of the streets that can be considered as part of this papal tradition of street regularization we can name: Alexander VI's Via Alessandrina, Julius II Via Giulia and Lungara, Leo X's Via di Ripetta, Paul III's Via dei Baulari, and Pius IV's Via Pia and Borgo, among others.

³ *Trivium* is the Latin term for the place where three roads or ways meet, and it was used by Colin Rowe to bring attention to Sixtus' recognition of the artistic potential of this radial connection, first by using it in his personal garden, and then throughout Rome. Rowe, Colin, and Leon George Satkowski. *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002, p. 299. Others, such as Lewis Mumford, have referred to its radial disposition as asterisks. See: Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961, pp. 370–389.

⁴ Tafuri, M. *Theories and History of Architecture*. Op. cit., p. 151.

⁵ Giedion. "Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome." Op. cit.

⁶ D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Gli Obelischi Di Roma: Storia E Urbanistica Di Una Città Dall'età Antica Al XX Secolo*. Roma: Romana Soc. Ed., 1992, p. 208.

⁷ Giedion. "Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome." Op. cit., p. 217.

⁸ Mumford, L. *The City in History*. Op. cit., pp. 388–389.

⁹ Sennett, Richard. *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities*. New York: Knopf: Distributed by Random House, 1990, p. 153.

¹⁰ Rowe. *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*. Op. cit., p. 301.

¹¹ Moholy-Nagy, Sibyl. *Matrix of Man: An Illustrated History of Urban Environment*. New York: Praeger, 1968, p. 143

¹² Banham, Reyner. *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*, 1971, pp. 17–18.

¹³ Vidler, Anthony. *The Architectural Uncanny: Essays in the Modern Unhomely*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992, p. 179.

¹⁴ Rowe. *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*. Op. cit., pp. 271–308. The essays were originally written between 1994 and 1999, in collaboration with L. G. Statkowski.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

¹⁶ Many studies have traced the origins of Sixtus V's ideas. There are two common tendencies: Cesare D'Onofrio and H. Gamrath have traced them back to the early years of ceremonial processions, and others, such as Charles Burroughs, Manfredo Tafuri and Leonardo Benevolo, locate him as being closer to his predecessors, beginning with Nicholas V. Please note that I have favored the latter interpretation because it had an actual impact in the material fabric of the city. However, in the following sections I will address the ceremonial implications of Onofrio and Gamrath, who have traced the origins of his ideas to the primitive Christian Church and to the ceremonial religious processions of the fifth and sixth century set in motion by Leone (440–461) and Gregorio Magno (590–604), where the seven basilicas were celebrated as stations. See, for example: D'Onofrio. *Gli Obelischi Di Roma*. Op. cit., p. 208. And, Gamrath, Helge. *Roma Sancta Renovata: Studi Sull'urbanistica Di Roma Nella Seconda Metà Del Sec. XVI Con Particolare Riferimento Al Pontificato Di Sisto V (1585–1590)*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1987, p.165.

¹⁷ Benevolo, Leonardo. *The Architecture of the Renaissance: Volume I*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p. 566. More clearly, he continued the efforts of Nicholas V in the transposition of obelisks, and his alignment of the streets follows that of "Sixtus IV (the Borghi and trident of roads at ponte S. Angelo, Alexander VI (via Alessandrini), Julius II (via Giulia and via della Lungara), Leo X (via Ripetta), Paul III (trident of piazza del Puopolo, via Condotti, via dei Baullari)" and Gregory XIII.

¹⁸ Bacon, Edmund. *Design of Cities*. New York: Viking Press, 1967.

¹⁹ For Onofrio's account on Chapter Six, Section II, "Grande Raccordo Liturgico Annulare: una promessa non realizzata". In D'Onofrio. *Gli Obelischi Di Roma*. Op. cit., pp. 208–211.

²⁰ Rowe, Colin. *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*. Op. cit., p. 301.

- ²¹ Ibid., p. 301.
- ²² Burroughs, C. "Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography." Op. cit., p. 190.
- ²³ Rowe suggests this understanding of the appropriation of obelisks by Sixtus V; the emphasis to use it as a general tone is mine to emphasize the reading. See: Rowe, Colin. *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*. Op. cit., p. 301.
- ²⁴ See Gamrath, Helge. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 121
- ²⁵ See specifically the last session and the writings of Paleotti, in: Paleotti, Gabriele. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. Translated by William McCuaig. Introduced by Paolo Prodi, 2012.
- ²⁶ Paolo Prodi clarifies that the concept of 'pope-king' has been used many times before him. For example, it was used in the History of Rome of Gregorovius, who used it to categorize Sixtus IV.
- ²⁷ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 45
- ²⁸ Rowe, Colin. Op. cit., p. 301.
- ²⁹ Prodi, Paolo. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 51.
- ³⁰ Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit., p. 174. And, Agamben, Giorgio. *Opus Dei: An Archaeology of Duty*. Translated by Adam Kotsko. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2013, p. 27.
- ³¹ The number of coins and medals varies from account to account. Filippo Buonanni describes 40 of them, and Claude Du Moline only 31. See: Buonanni, Filippo. *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum*. 2 vols. Romae: Ex typographia P.A. Herculis, v. 1. 1699, pp. 381–432. And, Du Molinet, Claude. *Historia Summorum Pontificum a Martino V. Ad Innocentium XI Per Eorum Numismata*. Lutetiae: Apud Ludovicum Billaine, 1679.
- ³² The term resignification (*risimbolizzazione*) was used by Manfredo Tafuri to designate the symbolic process by which Cola di Rienzo inserted bronze plaques in the Lateran to remind the populace of the *lex romana*, where it is the populace that gives power to the emperor and not vice versa. This was an attempt to alter the meaning of the Lateran. See: Tafuri, M. *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., pp. 25–27.
- ³³ As has also been noted by Fernand Braudel, it is interesting to note that the prosecution of these bandits in the Roman countryside was possible due to strategies of deforestation: "The campaign against bandits in the time of Sixtus V was in fact accompanied by the systematic burning of the bushland which afforded them cover". Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 82, fn 282. For the number of bandits see: Megivern, James J. "Capital Punishment: The Curious History of its Privileged Place in Christendom." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 147, no. 1 (2003). p. 9.
- ³⁴ Megivern, J. "Capital Punishment" Op. cit., p. 9.
- ³⁵ This bronze medal is commonly attributed to Domenico Poggini (1520–1590).
- ³⁶ See the many compilations of numismatics that exist of papal medals, especially that of Buonanni and Du Molinet. For a more interesting account related to the apparent restoration of justice, see: Polverini Fosi, Irene. "Justice and Its Image: Political Propaganda and Judicial Reality in the Pontificate of Sixtus V." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* (1993): 75–95.
- ³⁷ Ibid., p. 77.
- ³⁸ Quoted from Megivern, J. "Capital Punishment" Op. cit., p. 9. For the original see Baron Joseph A. de Hubner, *The Life and Times of Sixtus the Fifth*, 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1872. The title of the original German is *Der eiserne Papst* (The Iron Pope) (Reprint Berlin, 1932).
- ³⁹ Augustine. *The City of God Against the Pagans*. Translated by R W Dyson. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, B XIX, Ch. 10, p. 932
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., Ch. 27, p. 962.
- ⁴¹ Arendt, Hannah. *Love and Saint Augustine*. Ed. Joanna Vecchiarelli Scott et al. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 80. Arendt is specifically following a close reading of Confessions, Book VII, Chapters 16, 22. "For they [the wicked] are in harmony with those lower things of creation insofar as they are unlike you [God], but they are in harmony with higher things, insofar as they become more like you".
- ⁴² Augustine. *The City of God Against the Pagans*. Op. cit., Ch. 10, pp. 932–934.

⁴³ Hamilton, J. *Security*. Op. cit., p. 63.

⁴⁴ Translated in: Ibid., p. 138.

⁴⁵ See: Ibid., p. 139.

⁴⁶ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 40. Others with similar propositions include: Burckhardt, Jacob. "The State As a Work of Art." In *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*. London: Penguin Books, 2004, pp. 19–98. And Burke, Peter. *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987, p. 229.

⁴⁷ I am borrowing Vilem Flusser's reflection on the world of phenomena. "On Being Subject to Objects", n.d., essay manuscript, Vilém Flusser Archive (2761).

⁴⁸ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., pp. 158–159.

⁴⁹ See Gamrath, H. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 121

⁵⁰ There is controversy as to whether *Controversies* was ever included in the List of Prohibited Books. Peter Godman's archival investigation provides one of the most informed accounts, suggesting that Bellarmine's work had a *censurae* from 1587 to a few weeks before his death in 1621. See: Godman, Peter. *The Saint As Censor; Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index*. Boston: Brill, 2000.

⁵¹ Quoted from. Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 27.

⁵² Bellarmin, Robert. *On Temporal and Spiritual Authority on Laymen or Secular People. On the Temporal Power of the Pope, Against William Barclay. On the Primary Duty of the Supreme Pontiff*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2012, p. 46.

⁵³ Quoted from: Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 27. Original in: Bellarmine, R. *Controversies*. Chapter 9, *Experientia*.

⁵⁴ The ideas embedded in the doctrine of indirect power were received by Sixtus V with skepticism: he was concerned that the writings of Bellarmine were not iterative enough of the supreme power of the pope. For this reason, around 1589 Sixtus recommended Bellarmine's Volume 1 of *Controversies* be added to the Index of Prohibited Books. However, despite Sixtus V's cautionary tone his writings were never included in the Index. See: Bellarmin, R. *On Temporal and Spiritual Authority on Laymen or Secular People*. Op. cit., p. ix, xxii. See as well: Pastor, History of the Popes, Op. cit., vol. 21, pp. 145–78

⁵⁵ Among those formulating the indirect power of the pope see also Francisco Suarez, de Soto, among others.

⁵⁶ Giucciardini, Francesco. *The History of Italy*. Tr. Sidney Alexander. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984, pp. 149–50. It is believed that this section had been omitted from earlier editions, see: Luciani, Vincenzo. *Francesco Guicciardini E La Fortuna Dell'opera Sua*. Firenze: Olschki, 1959, pp. 14ff.

⁵⁷ "In 1585, for example, Pope Sixtus V prohibited the excavation of porphyry in and around Rome. This constraint forced most patrons to obtain imitation porphyry, or specimens of poor quality. Those who ignored the law not only obtained the finest product but signaled their high status by disregarding the pope." Quoted from: Nelson, Jonathan K, and Richard Zeckhauser. *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 60. Original in: Butters, Suzanne. *The Triumph of Vulcan: Sculptors' Tools, Porphyry, and the Prince in Ducal Florence*. Firenze: Olschki, 1996, p. 1:43.

⁵⁸ Partner, Peter. "Papal Finance in the Renaissance and Counter-reformation." *Past and Present*, 88, no. 1 (1980), p. 23. Partner also mentions how Sixtus IV linked the investments with the building construction in Rome.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 25, 29

⁶⁰ David Graeber reminds us that this practice began with "the Venetian government in the twelfth century when, needing a quick infusion of income for military purposes, it levied a compulsory loan on its taxpaying citizens, for which it promised each of them five percent annual interest, and allowed the 'bonds' or contracts to become negotiable, thus creating a market in government debt." Graeber argues that the importance of these municipal bonds is related to the beginning of modern financial instruments, and the ultimate origins of paper money. Graeber, David. *Debt: The First 5,000 Years*. Brooklyn: Melville House, 2011, p. 338.

⁶¹ In 1585, the coffers of the Castle Sant'Angelo had 351,500 gold scudi and 4,500 silver scudi. In 1590, the last year of Sixtus V's rule, there were 3,000,000 gold scudi and 1,159,943 silver scudi. See: Gross, Hanns. *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Regime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 147–148.

⁶² Sixtus V's Bull of April 21, 1586. Quoted from: Pastor, L. *The History of the Popes*. Op. cit., v. 21, p. 122.

⁶³ Gross, Hanns. *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*. Op. cit.

⁶⁴ "By the spring of 1586 he had brought the reserve of 350,000 gold scudi in Castel Sant'Angelo up to a million; and by 1590 he had increased the size of this hoard to 3 million gold scudi, and supported it by an additional reserve in silver of well over a million scudi." Quoted from Partner, P. "Papal Finance in the Renaissance and Counter-reformation." Op. cit., p. 30. Notice, however, that Fernand Braudel arrived at similar conclusions. See: Braudel, Fernand. *The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible*. Translated by Siân Reynolds. London: Collins, 1981, p. 464.

⁶⁵ Sixtus V's Bull of April 21, 1586. Quoted from: Pastor, L. *The History of the Popes*. Op. cit., v. 21, p. 125.

⁶⁶ Buonanni, F. *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum*. Op. cit., v. 1. p. 381. In 1586 the medal bears the motto *Vigilat sacri thesauri custos*—"the guardian of the sacred treasure is wakeful". In both 1587 and 1588, the medal's motto was *Sacra oculo spectat irretorto*—"he looks at sacred things with a fixed eye".

⁶⁷ Magnuson, Torgil. *Rome in the Age of Bernini*. Stockholm: Humanities Press, 1982, p. 11

⁶⁸ Koselleck, Reinhart. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, p. 12.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 11.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* p. 13.

⁷¹ Hacking, Ian. *The Taming of Chance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

⁷² The Bull was signed on December 3, 1586, and was titled *Postquam verus*.

⁷³ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 86.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86. See his bull of January 22 1588, called *Immensa aeterni*. Note that the first permanent congregation was set up by Pope Paul III to oversee the practices of the Inquisition. Relevant to the next section is the institutionalization for the first time of the supervision of the practices of liturgy by the new 'Sacred Congregation of Rites', which Sixtus V established, and which was in charge of overseeing the processional pilgrimage that changed the face of Rome. As we will come to see while religious in nature its actions were increasingly secular.

⁷⁵ Quoted from: Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 218, fn. 26. Original in Scipio Di Castro's instruction written for the Duke of Terranova, Spanish ambassadorial candidate to Rome around 1580–81.

⁷⁶ Important here, however, is the continuous effort of Sixtus V's predecessors, especially Pius V (reigned 1504–1572) and Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585), to diminish the agricultural monopoly on corn in the hands of the barons. Previous to Pius V, the barons had benefited from a corn law established by Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534), which allowed them to export their product. See: Miley, John. *The History of the Papal States from the Origin to the Present Day*. London: T C Newby. Vol. 3. London, 1850, pp. 518–526.

⁷⁷ Partner, Peter. *Renaissance Rome, 1500–1559: A Portrait of a Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, p. 73.

⁷⁸ Magnuson, T. *Rome in the Age of Bernini*. Op. cit., p. 10.

⁷⁹ Peter Partner makes this distinction between Florentine industry and Roman craftsmanship. Partner, P. *Renaissance Rome*. Op. cit., p. 89.

⁸⁰ Fontana, Domenico. *Della Trasportatione Dell'obelisco. Vatican : Rome, 1590*. Tr by David Sullivan. Oakland, CA: Octavo, 2002. pp. 7–9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37v–38v. This palace included a large garden the arrangement of which was quite innovative for the times: it had long straight avenues and symmetrical clarity. The premises were entirely isolated by an enclosure. At its eastern limit was located the square of the Diocletian Baths, where Fontana also designed 18 shops and adjacent dwellings. See: Fontana, Domenico.

⁸² Giedion, S. *Space, Time and Architecture*. Op. cit., p. 89.

⁸³ Braudel, F. *The Structures of Everyday Life*. Op. cit., p. 540.

⁸⁴ Giedion noted that the cortile “already altered by Ligorio, was annihilated by Sixtus V, whose high library wing cut the court in two.” Giedion, S. *Space, Time and Architecture*. Op. cit., p. 61. Leonardo Benevolo has also used this example, as follows: “The great vista conceived by Bramante, one of the most important spaces of the Renaissance, was destroyed forever and was replaced by two courtyards of traditional proportions, just as in any other Counter-Reformation buildings”. Benevolo, L. *The Architecture of the Renaissance*. Op. cit., Vol. 1. p. 572.

⁸⁵ Cesare D’Onofrio and Colin Rowe also emphasize his destructive character. Cesare D’Onofrio expands on the demolition of crucial sections of the Diocletian Baths, the quarry-like treatment of the *Settizonio Severiano*, and Sixtus V’s threat to destroy the Campidoglio. See: D’Onofrio, C. *Gli Obelischi Di Roma*. Op. cit., pp. 194–200. For a succinct account of this issue, see: Rowe, C. *Italian Architecture of the 16th Century*. Op. cit. In relation to Lewis Mumford’s account, please note that while I am emphasizing here the destruction to the material fabric, Mumford was also referring to the destruction of habits and social relations as he cut streets in the style of absolute monarchs, such as Louis XIV and Napoleon III. See: Mumford, L. *The City in History*. Op. cit., p. 387.

⁸⁶ Other religious works include: the construction of the loggia for the blessings and the palace at St. John Lateran; the nearby Scala Santa and the ornamentation of the Sancta Sactorum; the Church of St. Jerome of the Slavs at Ripetta; and the stairway connecting the church (sacristy of the Sistine Chapel) with the Gregorian chapel, which gave direct access to the apartments without leaving the palace. He restored the church of Santa Maria deli Agneli and that of Santa Sabina, and he re-erected the tower of the Belvedere.

⁸⁷ The seven traditional basilicas were: S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Pietro, S. Paolo fuori le Mura, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Sebastiano, S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, and S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Please note that in the same bull Sixtus V allowed the replacement of S. Sebastiano with S. Maria Popolo. Original Latin source in Sixtus Quintus. “Egregia Populi Romani Pietas.” In *Bullarium Sive Collectio*. Compiled by Laertius Cherubini. Haeredes Antonii Bladii, 1588, pp. 63–66. For the best analysis of this document see: Gamrath, H. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 136 (5). My description of this document is drawn from her studies.

⁸⁸ J E Packer suggests that the works to restore the column can be traced back to the efforts of Pope Paul III: his intervention included the clearance of several surrounding buildings to create a small piazza around the column. Efforts were continued by Paul IV, Gregory XIII. Parker tell us that Sixtus V “replaced the long-vanished statue of Trajan with a bronze St. Paul designed by Leonardo Sorman and Tommaso della Porta”. See: Packer, James E. *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments in Brief*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, pp. 10–15.

⁸⁹ Gamrath, Helge. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 136 (5).

⁹⁰ This is how Domenico Fontana, Sixtus V’s architect, described the impulse to populate the Quirinal Hill. Fontana, D. *Della Trasportatione*. Op. cit., p. 54.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 113.

⁹² Ibid., p. 113. Domenico Fontana, described them as follows: “The most famous is the Strada Felice, which goes from the Church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem to the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, ending at Trinità dei Monti, whence you descend to the Porta del Popolo. Overall, it covers two and one-half miles, all in a straight lane, wide enough to drive five carriages abreast. Our lord built two other new roads from the gate that goes to San Lorenzo fuori le mura. One goes to Santa Maria Maggiore, the other, passing behind His Holiness’ vineyard ends at the Piazza delle Terme at the Church of Santa Maria Degli Angeli. Another similar street starts from St. John Lateran and runs into the Colosseum, for the convenience of people coming from the Campidoglio. Another similar street runs from Porta Salara to Strada Pia. Moreover, he completed the street initiated by Pope Gregory of holy memory that went from Santa Maria Maggiore to St. John’s and had the walls on either side taken down.”

⁹³ The works were put under the charge of Marzio Colonna, who had little experience in such affairs. The water was brought from the Zagarolo dam, in Pentane dei Grifi. After two years, Colonna was replaced by Giovanni Fontana. Onofrio reminds us that Sixtus V’s predecessor, Gregory XIII, had already planned the aqueduct works, but he planned in terminating the source in four or five public fountains and one of them in Piazza di Campidoglio for the public use. D’Onofrio, Cesare. *Gli Obelischi Di Roma*. Op. cit., p. 200.

⁹⁴ Fontana, D. *Della Trasportatione*. Op. cit., p. 53. “This moved the spirit of Our lord to bring water there for the public convenience of the city and its inhabitants, as indeed Gregory XIII of holy memory was also moved, although the business was never concluded due to various obstacles and difficulties. But Our Lord Sixtus V, rising above all, and removing every obstacle, gave the order to begin the undertaking on the very first day he took possession of St. John Lateran.”

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 53. “This moved the spirit of Our lord to bring water there for the public convenience of the city and its inhabitants, as indeed Gregory XIII of holy memory was also moved, although the business was never concluded due to various obstacles and difficulties. But Our Lord Sixtus V, rising above all, and removing every obstacle, gave the order to begin the undertaking on the very first day he took possession of St. John Lateran.”

⁹⁶ Rinne, Katherine Wentworth. *The Waters of Rome: Aqueducts, Fountains, and the Birth of the Baroque City*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010, p. 181.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 184.

⁹⁸ Burroughs, Charles. "Opacity and Transparence: Networks and Enclaves in the Rome of Sixtus V." *Res* 41, no. 1 (2002), p. 70.

⁹⁹ Orbaan, J A F. *Records of Roman Town Planning*. Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1929, p. 249. This record was found by Orbaan in the Avvisi, and it is believed that it was written by a professional writer named Francesco Gerini.

¹⁰⁰ Burroughs, C. "Opacity and Transparence" Op. cit., p. 70.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 71.

¹⁰² In his Bull *Egregia* Rome was emphasized as the "house of the religion, hosting the sacred treasures of the indulgences in large measurement, and where its is protected the relics of many martyrs... All must visit in penitence the stationary churches..." Gamrath, H. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 137 (10).

¹⁰³ Maier, Jessica. *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015, p. 158. 'La sette chiese di Roma' 1575, Etching, 40 x 51.4 cm attributed to Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla in *Specvlvm Romanae Magnificentiae*. Rome: Antoine Lafreri, 1593. Folio 116.

¹⁰⁴ Fosi, Irene. "Court and City in the Ceremony of the Possesso in the Sixteenth Century." In *Court and Politics in Papal Rome: 1492-1700*. Edited by Signorotto, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 31–53.

¹⁰⁵ Labrot, Gérard. *Un Instrument Polemique: L'image De Rome Au Temps Du Schisme: 1534–1667*. Paris: Université de Lille 3. Atelier national de reproduction des thèses; Champion, 1978, p. 480. Quoted from Irene Fosi.

¹⁰⁶ Gamrath, H. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 126.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 129.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 136 (5). Original Latin source in Sixtus Quintus. "Egregia Populi Romani Pietas." In *Bullarium Sive Collectio*. Compiled by Laertius Cherubini. Haeredes Antonii Bladii, 1588, pp. 63–66.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 131–151. Previous to this, the procession was, according to Gamrath, more often an individual event, Filippo Neri help the transformation towards its previous communal model but its final impulse was institutionalized by Sixtus V. See as well: "Egregia Populi Romani Pietas." In *Bullarium Sive Collectio*. Op. cit., pp. 63–66.

¹¹⁰ Fosi, I. "Court and City" Op. cit., p. 50.

¹¹¹ Gamrath, H. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p. 135 (2). In this regard it is important to remember that the number seven appears many times in the Christian bible: see especially the Book of Revelation.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 136 (6).

¹¹³ Fontana, Domenico. *Della Trasportatione*. Op. cit., p. 5.

¹¹⁴ Cole, Michael Wayne. *The Idol in the Age of Art: Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World*. Edited by Rebecca Zorach. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009, p. 58

¹¹⁵ Curiously, the first procession institutionalized by Sixtus V in the *Egregia populi romani* Bull was coincidentally executed during carnival times. D'Onofrio, C. *Gli Obelischi*. Op. cit., pp. 212–218.

¹¹⁶ Gamrath, H. *Roma Sancta Renovata*. Op. cit., p.121

¹¹⁷ Agamben, G. *Opus Dei*. Op. cit., p. xi, 65.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 1

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 3.

- ¹²¹ Ibid., pp. 65–57. More clearly used in the Roman Empire as its meaning was very similar to that of the Greek *leigourgia*.
- ¹²² Ibid., pp. 66, 69.
- ¹²³ Ibid., pp. 74–75. Drawing from Cicero, Agamben provides the following meaning to *officium*: “Conducting life [*vitam degere*], governing things [*rem gerere*]: this is the meaning of the giving form to the use of life [*usum vitae conformare*] and the instituting the common life [*vitam instituere*] that were in question in *officium*. If the human beings do not simply live their lives like the animals, but conduct and govern life, *officium* is what renders life governable, that by means of which the life of humans is instituted and formed.”
- ¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 30.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 30.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 63.
- ¹²⁷ Pius XII, Pope. *Mediator Dei*. November 20, 1947, n.p.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid.
- ¹²⁹ Agamben, G. *Opus Dei*. Op. cit., p. 91.
- ¹³⁰ Pius XII is specifically confirming the institutionalization of the Congregation of the Rites, which Sixtus V established for the first time to oversee the practices of Christian liturgy.
- ¹³¹ Pius XII. *Mediator Dei*. Op. cit. Here Pius XII defines liturgy as follows: “The sacred liturgy is, consequently, the public worship which our Redeemer as Head of the Church renders to the Father, as well as the worship which the community of the faithful renders to its Founder, and through Him to the heavenly Father. It is, in short, the worship rendered by the Mystical Body of Christ in the entirety of its Head and members.”
- ¹³² Aquinas, Thomas. *Summa Theologica*. Tr. by Charles O’Brien. London: Blackfriars, 1975. I, q. 103–119.
- ¹³³ Ibid, q. 103, a.6.
- ¹³⁴ For a commentary, see: Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit., p. 149.
- ¹³⁵ Aquinas, T. *Summa*, Op.cit., q. 116, a.2
- ¹³⁶ Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit., p. 136.
- ¹³⁷ D’Onofrio, C. *Gli Obelischi Di Roma*. Op. cit., pp. 208–211.
- ¹³⁸ Curran, Brian A. *Obelisk: A History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Burndy Library, 2009, pp. 106–107.
- ¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 8. Ever since the obelisks were taken from Egypt, “they have served as a sort of Rorschach test for civilization. In each place and time they have taken on new meanings and new associations.”
- ¹⁴⁰ Fontana, D. *Della Trasportatione*. Op. cit., p. 5.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 42.
- ¹⁴² Grafton, Anthony. “Obelisks and Empires of the Mind.” *The American Scholar* 71, no. 1 (2002), p. 123.
- ¹⁴³ Domenico Fontana described it as follows: “The work began with... forty windlasses, 907 men, and seventy-five horses... At the first motion, it seemed as if the earth shook, and the scaffold let out a great noise as all its timbers tightened under the weight”. Fontana, D. *Della Trasportatione*. Op.cit.
- ¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 23.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 24.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 113.
- ¹⁴⁷ Wilkinson, Eleanor. “On Love As An (im)Properly Political Concept.” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* (2016): 1–15.

¹⁴⁸ Hardt, Michael. "For Love or Money." *Cultural anthropology* 26, no. 4 (2011): 676–682.

¹⁴⁹ Note that his book was written in 1588, prior to the completion of the obelisks. Look at the individual plates of the obelisks. Bordini, Giovanni Francesco. *De Rebus Praeclare Gestis a Sixto V Pon. Max: Liber Primus*. Romae: Ex officina Iacobi Tornerij, 1588.

¹⁵⁰ Anonymous. 'Le Sette Chiese Privilegiate Di Roma'. In: *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Nicolas van Aelst, 1589.

¹⁵¹ Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit., p. 192.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 184, 192. Agamben draws this somewhat forcefully from Kantorowicz's analysis of the laudes.

¹⁵³ This is how Domenico Fontana, Sixtus V's architect, described the impulse to populate the Quirinal Hill. Fontana, D. *Della Trasportatione*. Op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁵⁴ Burroughs, C. "Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography." Op. cit., p. 190.

¹⁵⁵ Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit., Lecture 4, February 1, 1978.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 165.

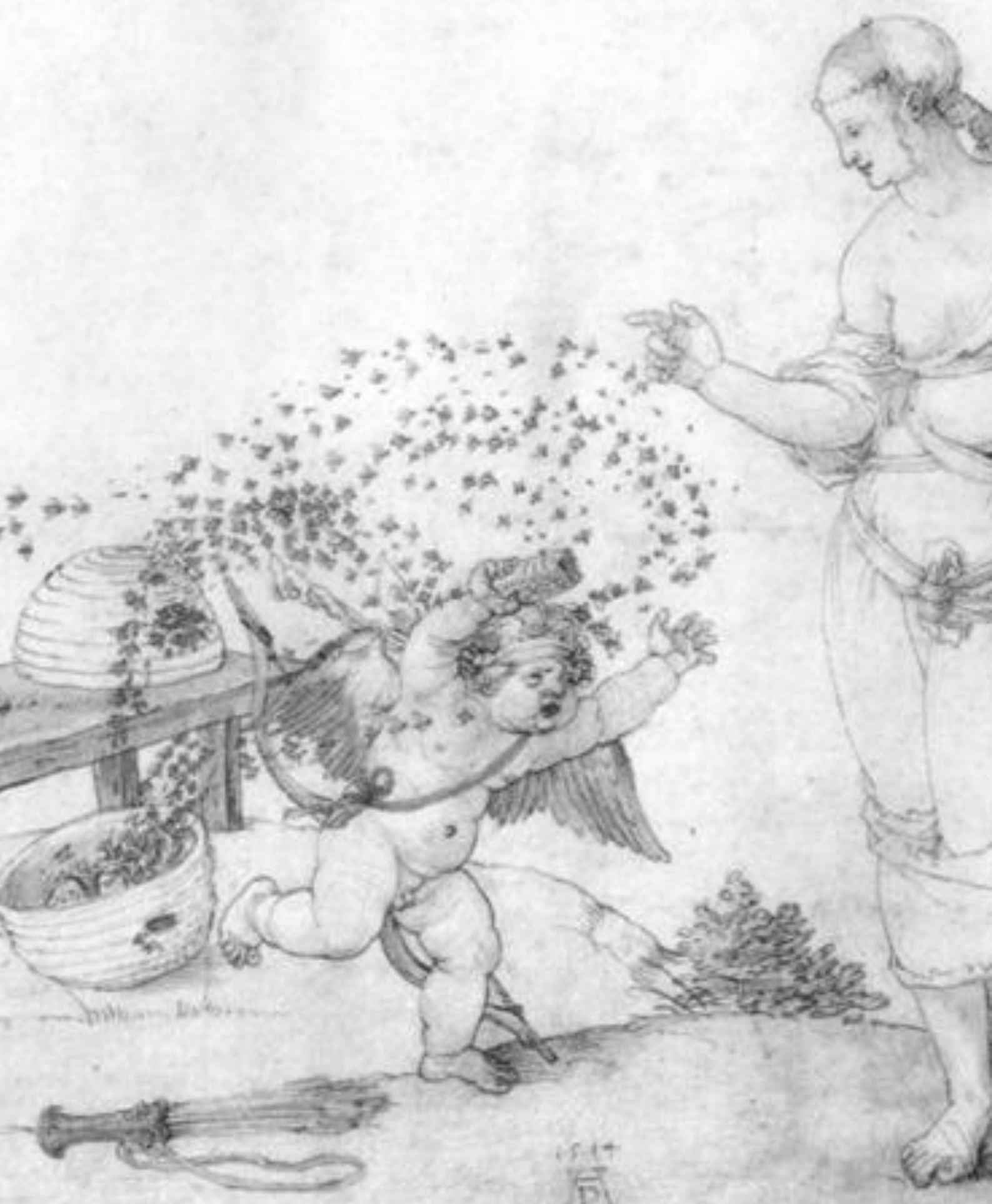
¹⁵⁷ This is how Domenico Fontana described the impulse to construct on the Quirinal Hill. Fontana, D. *Della Trasportatione*. Op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁵⁸ Mazio, Francesco. *Serie Dei Coni Di Medaglie Pontificie Da Martino V. Fino a Tutto Il Pontificato Della San. Mem. Di Pio VII. Esistenti Nella Pontificia Zecca Di Roma*. Roma: V. Poggioli, 1824, p.38.

¹⁵⁹ Burroughs, C. "Absolutism and the Rhetoric of Topography." Op. cit., p. 193.

¹⁶⁰ Tafuri, M. *Theories and History of Architecture*. Op. cit., p. 152.

¹⁶¹ Giedion, S. "Sixtus V and the Planning of Baroque Rome." Op. cit.,: 220, 222, 225. My emphasis.



When wanton *Love* design'd to thief,
And steal the Honey from the Hive,
An impious *Bee* his Finger stung,
And thus reveng'd the proffer'd Wrong.
He blew his Fingers, vex'd with Pain,
He stamp'd and star'd, but all in vain;
At last, unable to endure,
To *Venus* runs, and begs a Cure,
Complaining that so slight a Touch,
And little Thing, should wound so much.
She smil'd, and said, how like to thee,
My *Son*, is that unlucky bee?
Thy self art small, and yet thy Dart
Wounds deep, ah! very deep the Heart.

Idyllium XIX
Theocritus or anonymous¹

THREE

ADMIRATIO

The City as a Wondrous Artifice

Preamble

I. *Admiratio*, A Historical Gloss

Foundations

Ontological Distinctions

Paradoxes of 'De-wondering'

The Subject

II. Situating Wonder

A Portrait of Urbano VIII

Rome: A Battlefield for Attention

The Theater's Return to Rome

III. The Barberini's Theater

Il Sant' Alessio: Setting the Stage, Constructing the State

L'Impresario: The Production of Wonder

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) transformed Europe, not only through its religious and territorial wars, but, more surprisingly, because Europe found itself at the center of a chaotic intertwining of civil war, scientific discoveries and, even more oddly, experimentation in theatrical techniques.² These forces saw the redrawing of territorial boundaries and the emergence of a new rational epistemological horizon. They also saw the development of theatrical techniques by which temporal power began to develop new affective forms of turning citizens into subjects. During the same period, the conflict of beliefs between Catholics and Protestants, and the many scientific discoveries of the time, began to promote new forms of conceiving of the physical world beyond the traditional and divine understanding of order. At the same time, in the midst of volatile military campaigns, crusades and diplomatic alliances, the wondrous theatrical effects that dominated the ceremonial performances of the princely European courts began to serve as a rehearsal of experiments with the emotional world of subjectivity through a campaign carried out in the sphere of the passions and at the limits of sensual experience. In this context, seventeenth century thought drew as much from the rationalization of the temporal world that was making itself visible in the many *wunderkammern* of the time—where the mysteries of the world and its monstrous curiosities (sacred or otherwise) could be cataloged, scrutinized and put on display— as it did from the theatrical experimentations with the subjects' inner passions taking place in the courtly theater—where the papal court began their most consistent attempt to captivate their audience. Vilém Flusser summarizes this condition as the “progressive scientification of the world”, which he describes as follows:

“...At the center flows the lustful mass of the sensible world with its purposeless bubbling. Above this mass the remains of the world of magic hover, which still seek to organize the mass. Underneath the mass, the rigid crystals of the mathematical symbols of the exact sciences scintillate, and try to precipitate, upon themselves, the lustful phenomena. Behind the sensible world, chunks of magic fog condense into pure mathematical crystals, transformed, as if touched by the cold breath of science, into crystallized ice.”³

With this reflection, Flusser brings attention to the convoluted substitution of supernatural and even magical understandings of the world by mathematical, geometrical and other rational forms of knowledge which saw much progress during these times.⁴ However, at the same time, Flusser also suggests that the magical and the supernatural do not disappear: they simply begin to inhabit new spheres. It is my contention that this process of substitution, which Flusser identified during the first half of the seventeenth century, also drew upon new forms of imagining affective relations of power in papal Rome which were first cultivated within the space of the theater, through its persuasive dramatic effects. In these years in which the world was being spatially, temporally and astrologically re-centered, new mechanisms of power were tested, and epistemological perceptions were challenged, the papal court in Rome began occupying itself with new techniques by which to reaffirm the centrality of Christian doctrines. Salvation, miracles and sainthood, which had given rise to many Protestant objections,⁵ were placed more prominently at the center of the papal court, in its efforts to reassert its supremacy. Beyond Rome, the papacy continued to exercise its power through holy crusades, military campaigns, diplomatic missions and its project of “inculturation”⁶ of extra-

European lands. But within Rome, a renewed campaign of persuasion also contributed to the strengthening of Christian beliefs by setting in motion all the new available means—both scientific and theatrical—to secure a certain seductiveness present in the mystical mysteries of the Catholic Church. Partly a reminder of the power invested in the Church and partly a security mechanism by which to consolidate the secular power that it had accumulated since its return to Rome, this affective campaign carried out by artistic means and theatrical performances began to produce a theological shift in the Church itself: Christianity, it would appear, no longer had sufficient influence solely through its control of the afterlife, it also began to cultivate this influence in the *immediacy* of the earthly world.⁷ This is the general context that confronted both the protagonist of this chapter, Pope Urbano VIII, born Maffeo Barberini, who held the papal seat between the difficult years of 1623 to 1644, and the world he helped to cultivate.

Urbano VIII was known for his contradictory character: he is remembered both as the poet-pope⁸ and as a ‘holy warrior’.⁹ He is remembered for his nepotism,¹⁰ for his artistic patronage, for being “both fascinated and terrified by astrology and the occult”,¹¹ and for his ambivalence toward science.¹² It was under Urbano VIII that, as Paolo Prodi has argued, “papal ceremonial reached its definitive formulation”.¹³ Prodi claims that the Church’s theatrical processions, which developed from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation and into the Baroque age, only increased its political importance in representing papal power, serving, as Prodi argues, as “a model for all new European courts”.¹⁴ Prodi maintains that consistently from “the second half of the fifteenth century, the Roman court developed more in line with the Italian *signorie* than with the curial tradition of the medieval papacy, into the greatest and most important court of Europe”.¹⁵ According to Prodi, the Roman papal court provided a “school of politics and diplomacy, ethical behavior and etiquette, of fashion and manners, of literary and artistic taste [...]”¹⁶; it became a cultural typology. While the papacies of Leo X, born Giovanni di Lorenzo de’ Medici (ruled 1513–1521), as well as Paul III, born Alessandro Farnese (ruled 1534–1549), were moments of particularly intense development of courtly practices, the political context under which Pope Urbano VIII ruled allow us to analyse the papal court’s at its most developed moment where it was not only relevant to the Papal States, but it was also competing with other European courts.¹⁷ Originally from Florence, born into a middle-class mercantile family of Tuscan origin,¹⁸ Maffeo Barberini would guarantee the power of his family, the Barberini, with his unexpected election as pope in 1623. Urbano VIII was quick to install his family in crucial posts in Rome and the papacy. Together they not only benefited from their offices, receiving the highest salary in Rome,¹⁹ but they also occupied a prominent center in the city’s artistic culture. As music scholar Frederick Hammond has stated, quoting Nietzsche on Goethe, “[w]e are dealing not merely with a family ‘but with an entire *culture*.’”²⁰ The Barberini dominated cultural production in Rome for most of the period that coincided with the Thirty Years’ War. Under Urbano, a theatricality of life was cultivated throughout Rome: the city was frequently the site of street parades, extravagant displays and ornamented carriages, the palaces were similarly the centers of courtly life, where excessive banquets, ornamented facades and exclusive theatrical performances began to test the limits of vision

that existed at the time. The persuasiveness of these events was also used to disseminate the dominance of a Christian life, and even to produce amicable relations across the different factions in Rome.

Unlike in the previous chapters, in which we followed the city interventions that took place directly under papal authority, we will look at Urbano VIII not so much as a commander of key urban and architectural transformations, but rather as a *facilitator* of artistic and scientific practices, whose cumulative effect signals a profound transformation in the spaces of Rome and its political status. This is not to disregard Urbano's interventions in Rome, which have been well documented through a rich and vast historiography.²¹ It is, rather, to remember that spatial and architectural representation were not only pursued by the papacy at this time: especially in the context of the Thirty Year's War, they were pursued by different factions both within and beyond Rome. In other words, the spaces of the city of Rome in the early seventeenth century had become a parallel site of conflict by other means for the many warring factions across Europe. Thus, to understand the most novel contributions of Pope Urbano VIII during this period, one has to look elsewhere. To put it differently, for this study Urbano's role in the construction of Palazzo Barberini, his involvement in the beautification of St. Peter's, or his interest in Piazza Trevi are of secondary importance. Instead, for our purposes, what is important is the decorum he imposed on the different factions, the culture of spectacle he encouraged throughout the city, the investment by the papal administration in diplomatic banquets held regularly in the papal courts, or, as we will examine here, the lavish production of theatrical effects that dominated the festivities of the Papal Curia. In this chapter I will examine the attempt of the Barberini family to stage the mysteries of the Christian Church in order to bring audiences into contact with concepts that issued from beyond the terrestrial world, and thus to present themselves as unrepresentable. More than being merely an extension of theological practices into the realm of theater, what the cultural program of the Barberini involved was the presentation of theological concepts in the realm of drama through the *manufacture of effects*. Angels, devils, saints, heaven, hell, miracles, virgins, paradise, purgatory, sacraments, salvation, and temptation all came to the center of the stage under the auspices of the Barberini with more intensity than ever before.²² This was not simply an attempt to dramatize these theological figures and concepts: it was an effort to cultivate responses of desire and passion around them. The 'representation of the unrepresentable' was, in other words, an effort both to reaffirm the seductive mechanisms of the Church and to produce a desire for those mechanisms.

In considering the theater's role in the papal Roman court of the time, in this chapter the city takes on a secondary role. Instead, the emphasis shifts to the court's attempt to consolidate its temporal power not simply by disseminating theological concepts by staging them, but more precisely by cultivating a particular reception toward them through the evocation of theatrical wonder. In fact, wonder is the predominant framework of analysis here. The evocation of wonder speaks about a particular need on the part of the papal court to develop an unlimited aesthetic dimension of power. If one considers that

wonder is inseparable from its cognate Latin terms, *admiratio* (admiration), *mirabilia* (marvel) and *miraculum* (miracle), we might begin to infer that its history is as much rooted in the sacred as in the supernatural.²³ What distinguishes the Baroque's papal pursuit of wonder is that it was no longer at the behest of the divine, but something that could be produced, calculated and repeated. The evocation of wonder, through the theatrical productions of the Barberini, required a massive development of stage effects, machinery, scenography, architectural elements, music and performance. This entailed a profound shift in the realm of beliefs from the divine doctrine to that of the world of sensory and corporeal experience. This echoes an observation made by Stephen Greenblatt that Machiavelli's *Discourses* treats religion's primary function not as "salvation but as the achievement of civic discipline, as if its primary justification were not truth but expediency".²⁴ By the seventeenth century there was already a form of thinking of religion as the procurement of "social order and cohesion".²⁵ Greenblatt shows how theological principles and ideas were relocated from the realm of faith to the immediacy of the experienceable world, most prominent of which was the realm of the visual. To imagine that religion could find its locus of conviction not in the articulation of divine truths but amidst the seductive spaces of the theater was a great discovery of the Baroque. It also marked a more definitive shift from the textual culture that dominated the Renaissance, where the emphasis was on reading and interpretation, to an understanding of the world through visible means, the sight and representation²⁶.

It is important to clarify that the affective techniques constituted through theatrical effects to move spectators into a state of wonder were never designed to deceive the eye per se, but rather they were an attempt to test the audience's ability to be moved *despite* an awareness of such deceptions. As Gilles Deleuze has stated: "the essence of the Baroque entails neither falling into nor emerging from illusion but rather *realizing* something in illusion itself, or of tying it to a spiritual *presence* that endows its spaces and fragments with a collective unity".²⁷ That wonder in the seventeenth century was produced through its dramatization does not call into question the possibility of deceiving the audience: rather, it reveals the capacity of subjects—the different audiences of wonder—to allow themselves to be affected by a sensorial experience, as a means of experiencing theological concepts, in the first place.

The techniques of wonder that Urban VIII's papacy explored were not created in isolation. Wonder was also entangled with the politics of shock and awe that informed other transformations of power at the time that were taking place outside of Rome. In Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan*, the evocation of awe²⁸ is deemed to be instrumental in formulating the "regal presence of the sovereign".²⁹ Hobbes insists on several occasions that, in order to secure people from their dangerous passions, it is necessary for a "common power to keep them all in awe".³⁰ As Christopher Pye has argued, the visibility of the wondrous power that Hobbes invests in the figure of sovereign authority plays a crucial role in his formulation of the origins of the commonwealth: "In Hobbes, the real and determining authority of the collective figure of the commonwealth arises through a conflation of

questions of representation and force”.³¹ A similar understanding of the monarch’s spectacular authority arises from Greenblatt’s analysis of Elizabethan power, where the theatrical presence of the monarch is crucial in establishing a distance between power and those who are subject to it.³² However, the form in which the objective of wonder was pursued under the Barberini differed from those forms which were developed in parallel by political figures and philosophers of absolute power of the time.

The Hobbesian or Elizabethan forms of theatrical presence were dedicated to the acclamation of the sovereign. What is interesting about some of the theatrical representations sponsored by the Barberini is that the emphasis was not so much placed on the figure of the pope-king, as Paolo Prodi has emphasized, as it was on the development of a sensual dimension to the *overall* governmental and ideological apparatus of the Papal State. Prodi has implied that papal ceremonial was “linked to the emergence of the sovereign figure”.³³ He proposes this reading in a few sentences and puts all the weight on the importance of the processions of the papal coronation, the moment in which the pope experiences investiture: the *possesso*. The importance of the *possesso* is indeed crucial as it provides a symbolic continuation in the representation of the ‘pope-king’ between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it was celebrated with pomp. Yet the scale and breadth that the spectacle took on under Urbano VIII and his family showed a rather different instrumentality—one that arguably continues to accompany temporal power until today. It is only by considering the entire choreography of events—the *possesso*, the festivals, the diplomatic cavalcades, the banquets, the operas, among many others—that a new form of temporal power was rendered possible at the heart of papal rule. The proliferation of theatrical performances during Urbano VIII’s papacy contributed to reaffirming an emotional apparatus of the Church’s temporal power—a sort of ‘magical’ dimension of Christian power that achieved maturity, and especially immediacy, during this period.

It could be said that, through the theatrical evocation of wonder, the Christian Church developed key mechanisms to secure for itself a seductive power, recasting its spiritual categories in the immediacy of the world of senses. In brief, this form of wonder—*modern* wonder—had, arguably the capacity to call for the subject’s desire for power.³⁴ In this way, the Barberini performances were central to the development of persuasive mechanisms that went beyond the figure of the sovereign. In other words, the evocation of theatrical wonder did not aim to reduce the subject to a state of fear, as is the case with the Hobbesian sovereign, but calculated to awaken the multiple passions of the subject, which were choreographed in conjunction with a system of beliefs. As such, wonder played a complex role in the Christian Church’s attempt to enchant its subjects through renewed and willfully affective relations of power.

To explore this, we will begin by following the history of the concept of *admiratio*—wonder—exploring its early connotations in order to arrive at the concept in the seventeenth century with Descartes and Spinoza, which allows us to understand early concepts of subjectivity relevant to the

period of Urbano VIII. From here, we will explore the dominant forms of spatial interventions in the Rome of the time. This analysis will frame the ‘conditions of possibility’ that made the theater a relevant medium for prominent papal affairs. We will explore the contentious entrance of the theater into the Papal Curia, its use and main promoters. We will see how the entrance of the theater was not only relevant to Rome, but, more importantly, it played a crucial role in the diplomatic pursuit of papal power to secure the Papal States in times of war. Finally, we will explore the inherent relations between the increasingly secular modes of papal power at this time and the parallel use of wonder, by looking, in the form of vignettes, at two theatrical productions of the time: the opera *Il Sant’ Alessio*, written by Giulio Rospigliosi,³⁵ and Bernini’s unfinished comedy *L’Impresario*, written around 1643. In this way, the overall attempt of this chapter is to narrate a critical history of the way in which the sensorial became a central concern not only for the development of papal power, but in fact for the development of an early form of modern statecraft. We will see that the recurrence of these motifs turn theatrical performances inside the palaces into a subtle but equally crucial ‘battlefield of the heart’—to borrow Giulio Rospigliosi’s expression to describe the story of the sainthood of Alessio, a libretto he provided for the Barberini’s important opera guests. At a time when there was much bloodshed outside Rome, European politics also took a dramatic turn through what we could say was its interiorization in Rome: a sensorial campaign waged inside the theater and the salons of Palazzo Barberini and unfolding in the Jesuit churches of Rome:³⁶ a battle fought in the sumptuous banquets for the Roman elite held inside palaces; war continuing in the Piazza Navona in the performances staged as theatrical jousts; or Festa della Resurrezione, spilling along Via del Corso during carnival times, where people of different factions blended behind their masks; among many others spaces within Rome.³⁷ By setting in motion an arena of theatrical wonder, sensorial effects of all sorts were able to set the terms in a struggle for the stabilization of the Roman Christian Church. It is in this new arena of wonder that, I will argue, affect enters more clearly into the realm of modern, secular politics.

Until now, we have been following the periodization of Paolo Prodi’s work; we have come to understand the interrelation between the processes of the centralization of power and the transformation of the city; the construction of the figure of the pope-king and the ever more courtly presentation of the papal court. In this chapter, however, we will move beyond Prodi’s account. Prodi argues retrospectively that, despite the nature of the non-dynastic papal power, its court did indeed develop state-like institutions, techniques, and centralization practices, revealing a kind of structural continuity in the papacy as an emerging modern state. In what follows, the nepotistic practices of the Barberini reveal not the ephemeral nature of any form of rationality developed in the institutions of the Papal Curia, but rather its instrumentality *as an institution*. While Prodi’s account of this period remains rather scant, I will argue that an investigation of the use of wonder by the Barberini papacy reveals the rise of a seductive dimension of temporal power within the Papal State that is made possible *only by operating within* the papal structure, as Urbano VIII proved excellent at doing. Affirming Prodi’s position, I add that such techniques of power became a predominant feature not just of the papacy, but of state power more broadly in this period, and that they still have relevance in

understanding the nature of state power even today. My account will continue its extension of Prodi's genealogy of modern state power, while situating itself loosely as a complementary history to that of Michel Foucault's work on governmentality in his excavation of the French state. The seductive dimension we find in the attempt of the Barberini papacy to secure its power is not based on a strict rationalization of power, the management of population, or a new science of political economy,³⁸ but rather on the reworking of the religious in order to explore new mediums to construct the Barberini's temporal power.

Theater, in the Rome of the early seventeenth century, became a crucial site for the development of these seductive mechanisms of power whose influence was felt far beyond the space of the theater. The fact that Rome, during the Thirty Years' War, finds itself immersed in a battle for sensory attention is not coincidental: not only were the different struggles for power within Rome fought through the claiming of spatial and architectural prominence within the city, many of the factions that divided Europe at that time also had a representative in Rome. Rome became, I will argue, a *laboratory of political seduction* as the many factions attempted to attain their rightful manifestation of power while the papal court attempted to strengthen Christian beliefs by justifying the existence of a mystical dimension of the divine precepts of Christianity among its many opponents. Through the Barberini's efforts, theatrical effects penetrated aspects of courtly life previously considered beyond the sphere of intervention of the papal court. These theatrical productions were not only didactic, communicating the principles and beliefs of the Church, they were also, I will argue, important in promoting a new and more lasting mechanism by which the emerging modern state could realize a technique of subjectification. Far from considering these theatrical endeavors of the papal court in Rome simply as a form of amusement or as a temporary choreographed 'escape' from the difficult socioeconomic conditions of the time, I consider that the theater served as a testing ground in which to experiment with the capacity of the subject to be amazed, seduced and enchanted in a new relation of affective power, while simultaneously expressing the other side of this capacity of seduction as a new technique of measuring the security of the Papal State.

Admiratio, A Historical Gloss

What we think of today when we consider the term ‘wonder’? It is all too common to hear people talk about the use of ‘wonder drugs’ or ‘miracle lotions’, or their admiration for celebrities, within a culture of celebrity. Wonders are for sale, miracles are wearable, and admiration has found its site in mediated figures. Wonder might seem to have no significant political value today, but these three categories—marvels, miracles and admiration—were woven into the political landscape of the seventeenth century, when the debate around the theological role of wonder was brought to the fore. These categories, whose locus more often resided in the unexplainable (*mirabilia*), or that which was beyond human causation (*miracula*), and the emotion of which constituted relations of reverence (*admiratio*) or astonishment, were, during the seventeenth century, clearly incorporated into the sphere of human production and its mechanical reproducibility. The cultural program of Urbano VIII is a crucial example of this.³⁹ In his effort to confront growing claims against the reality of miracles, to persuade the elite of the veracity of the narratives of eternal salvation, or to exalt his own temporal power, Urbano VIII helped facilitate a massive campaign to produce, manufacture, fabricate and stage wonders through opera performances and other forms of theatrical festivities.⁴⁰ His time as head of the papal court provides us with a glimpse of a moment in which a transformation to the notion of wonder took place. The entrance of the theater into the Roman Curia that Urban VIII sponsored was a moment in which systems of theological reverence increasingly became conflated with their secular counterparts, a transformation enabled by the mechanical fabrication of a host of theatrical effects.

The history of wonder is marked by a specific intersection of a cognitive introjection and a sensorial experience. In other words, over the course of its use in the Western world, the meanings that have assigned themselves to the notion of wonder suggest the joining together of an act of thinking with a capacity of sensing: the ability to make sense of the world and the potential to feel a passionate response—a merger between the realm of the knowledge and of the body, the engagement of the mind with the realm of passions. Put simply, wonder operates at the confluence of our capacity to wonder *about*, and to wonder *at* something. The discussion that follows does not attempt to provide a comprehensive history of the category, but rather to identify the contours that, over time, allow us to situate a transformation of the notion which occurred with the theatrical effects used during Urban VIII.

Foundations

These two aspects of the notion of wonder (cognitive and sensorial) were already present in Aristotle's reflections on wonder. On the one hand, in *Metaphysics*, Aristotle situated wonder (Gr. Θαυμάζειν, *thaumazein*) as "essential to the process of philosophical inquiry",⁴¹ and as a necessary act in order to begin to grasp the immediate world. In an often quoted passage of Book Alpha of *Metaphysics*, Aristotle states: "For it was because of wonder that men both now and originally began to philosophize. To begin with, they wondered at those puzzles that *were to hand*, such as about the changes of the moon and events connected with the sun and the stars and about the origins of the universe. [...] And so, if men indeed began to philosophize to escape ignorance, it is clear that they pursued science for the sake of knowledge and not for any utility".⁴² As Mary-Jane Rubenstein has suggested, Aristotle "proposes a remedy for wonder in the knowledge of cause and effect".⁴³ In other words, Rubenstein suggests that the understanding of the cause replaces wonder itself.

On the other hand, we find instances in Aristotle's works where wonder begins to cross paths with the realm of emotions. In Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, admiration is presented in its relation to pleasure and desire. In Book 1, Chapter 11, Aristotle states: "And to learn and to admire are usually pleasurable; for in admiration there is desire, so the admirable is desirable...".⁴⁴ In juxtaposition to this we should remember that in Aristotle's *Poetics*,⁴⁵ in the context of tragic plots, wonder is used to emphasize the *fleeting surprise*, the capacity of tragedy to amaze the audience.⁴⁶ It is with these words that the use of wonder, or, as it is translated there, as admiration or astonishment, reveals its capacity to have an *effect* which can be pursued, as in the case of tragedy, and that can be involved in the attainment of pleasure.

We begin to see that wonder in Aristotle is that which is capable of mobilizing both cognition and delight. Or, as Christine Hunzinger has suggested, the two main modes of admiration in Aristotle take the form of "the expert's eye or the layman's blank stare".⁴⁷ It is important to underline a few things in

regard to Aristotle that we will begin to see affecting the next accounts, as they draw on his works. First of all, as Caroline Walker Bynum (who has articulated one of the most compelling account of wonder) argues, the understanding of wonder as capturing a cognitive capacity continued to be present throughout most discourses of natural philosophy from the medieval scholastics to the Enlightenment.⁴⁸ However, the account given in *Poetics*, in which we begin to see the evocation of wonder as something that could be intentionally mobilized or constructed, was, as Walker Bynum reminds us, “virtually unknown until the fifteenth century.”⁴⁹ However, in order to get to these expressions of wonder we must first discuss a few crucial moments in the genealogy of the notion itself.

Ontological Distinctions

The next important transition, after the classic Aristotelian reflection, in the use of wonder is the work of Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century.⁵⁰ Aquinas is important not only because he addresses wonder (*admiratio*) directly, as it was presented in Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, but also because he continues the discussion on miracles (*miracula*) that had been imprinted already in Augustine’s corpus.⁵¹ As C. W. Bynum has argued, Aristotle and Augustine were the “twin authorities of the Middle Ages”.⁵²

Aquinas draws from Augustine’s views on miracles but he makes crucial clarifications. On the one hand, for Augustine, “a miracle is not an objective violation of the laws of nature, [but] ‘whatever appears difficult or unusual, beyond the expectation or ability of the one who is amazed by it’.”⁵³ On the other hand, “Augustine states that when God does things contrary to the pattern known and expected by us in nature, we call them great and wondrous works”.⁵⁴ To this, Thomas Aquinas replies:

“The word ‘miracle’ is taken from *admiratio*. Now we experience wonder [*admiratio*] when an effect is obvious but its cause hidden; in the example noted at the beginning of the *Metaphysics*, when someone witnesses an eclipse of the sun but does not know its cause, he wonders. However, the cause of some observed effect may be known to one person and yet unknown to another. In this way the same thing may be wondered at by the one and not by the other; e.g. the peasant is in awe at the sun’s eclipse, but not the astronomer. But the word ‘miracle’ connotes something altogether wondrous, i.e. having its cause hidden absolutely and from everyone. This cause is God. Thus the works God does surpassing any cause known to us are called miracles [*miracula*].

Hence: I. Creation and the justifying of the sinner, while they are acts of God alone, are strictly speaking not miracles, because they are acts not meant to be accomplished by other causes. Thus they do not occur as exceptions to the pattern in nature, since they are not part of that pattern.

2. A miracle is described as difficult not because of the worth of the matter about which it occurs, but because it surpasses the capabilities of nature. It is termed unusual, not because it may not occur repeatedly, but because it is outside the normal pattern. Something is said to surpass the capacities of nature not only on the basis of the kind of thing done, but also of the manner and order of its doing. A miracle is said to be beyond expectation, but of nature, not of grace, i.e. the hope arising from faith, whereby we believe in the resurrection to come.

3. While the apostles' knowledge was not itself perceivable, it became so in effects that showed it to be miraculous."⁵⁵

This reflection is crucial because, through it, Aquinas distinguishes clearly the general use of the word *admiratio* (admiration or wonder) from that of *miracula* (miracles). For him, *admiratio* can reside in the experience of an unusual phenomenon which nevertheless has the potential of being knowable. *Admiratio*, in Aquinas, could be said to be relative to the knowledge of causes. On the other hand, *miracula* has an absolutely hidden cause: it is unknowable. As Rubinstein notes, miracles are attributed to divine causation and wonders to natural causation.⁵⁶ Aquinas also departs from Augustine in situating the exceptionality of miracles as that which surpasses the capabilities of nature. Aquinas believed that "natural order was also a moral order..."⁵⁷ and as such saw no contradictions in situating these unknowable causations as belonging to the moral plane. With this he not only departs from Augustine, but also from the source of wonder located in Aristotle. If, for Aristotle, wonder comprises those obvious perplexities that form part of the experience of the philosopher, that are *at hand*—⁵⁸such as the changing pattern of the moon—for Aquinas, the source of wonder remains that which escapes the laws of nature. As pointed out by Bynum, in the early Middle Ages Latin texts still used *mirabilia* (marvel) and *miracula* more or less interchangeably.⁵⁹ Aquinas' contribution lies in distinguishing, ontologically, *miracula* from other sources of *admiratio*. He separates theological wonders from temporal ones. Although this was not yet a common practice during Aquinas' times, in his philosophy the general *mirabilia* that can be knowable is not conflated with *miracula*, which cannot be knowable.

This distinction had two ramifications. On the one hand, *miracula* now found its relation to the divine order and would become instrumental in the legitimation of Christian beliefs. On the other hand, phenomena that fall into the categories of *mirabilia* and *admiratio* were opened up to being explored, examined, cataloged, collected and scrutinized without contradicting the divine order. The distinction also contradicted the longstanding tradition by which curiosity was considered a vice. Without denying the latter, Aquinas instead added the virtue of studiousness (*studiositas*), which he saw as the "disciplined devotion to intellectual knowledge itself".⁶⁰ As C. W. Bynum has emphasized, in "preserving the possibility of objective verification of miracles as *contra naturam*, such definitions led to an ever-increasing sense that seemingly extraordinary events could be explained (i.e., rationalized) as ruled by the laws of nature".⁶¹ Just as Augustine's account of miracles was crucial in assuring the faithful in the chaotic context that followed the sack of Rome (410 BCE),⁶² for Aquinas the elevation of *miracula* to the theological plane allowed people in his time to experience a fascination with the marvelous [*mirabilia*], monstrous births, sea creatures, beasts, gems, fossils, and the like – and to explore them.⁶³



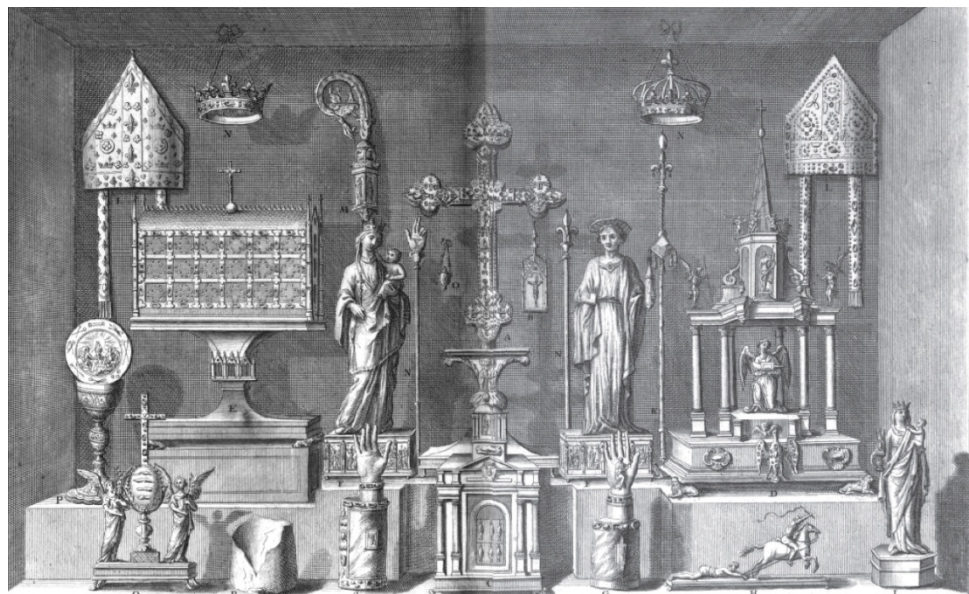
Paradoxes of 'De-wondering'

Aquinas influence remained influential up to the seventeenth century, despite being constantly subjected to criticism and condemnation by radical Aristotelians, from 1270 to Martin Luther's refutation of 1524 treatise *Against the New Idol*. Aquinas was praised by the papacy, he was named 'Doctor of the Church' by Pius V in 1567, and he became the un-official theologian of the Jesuits.⁶⁴ However, it could be said that the distinctions he made indirectly created a paradox that operated at the level of sensory experience.

On several occasions, Aquinas emphasizes the relation of wonder to pleasure.⁶⁵ In relation to wonder's cognitive aspect, he states: "[w]ondering is a cause of pleasure, not because it implies that one is ignorant, but because it implies that one wants to learn the causes of something..."⁶⁶ Aquinas

also accounts for the value of the psychological experience of wonder, by suggesting that “wonder is the best way to grab the attention of the soul”.⁶⁷ However, as Bynum argues, from the thirteenth century on, there was an equal impetus to ‘rationalize’ the marvels of the world in forms that could preclude its relation to pleasure. In other words, the ontological distinction that was made between the different cognates of wonder was followed by many attempts to enumerate, list, and catalog natural and abnormal phenomena in order to stress regularity as a form to understand nature. For example, treatises such as that of Nicole Oresme *De causis mirabilium* (c. 1370), who served King Charles V of France, provided a “complex edifice of causal explanations to account for anomalous phenomena of all sorts”.⁶⁸ To explore the causes of marvels, also had the counter-effect of turning into a process that has been referred to as ‘de-wondering’:⁶⁹ the attempt to construct an image of an orderly and rational world. Or as Alberts Magnus, the teacher of Aquinas, said “to make wonders cease”.⁷⁰

Michel Felibien. *Histoire de Labbaye Royale de Saint-Denis en France*, 1706.



This is not to say that the ‘wonderousness’ of wonder was eliminated through its rationalization, simply that its relation to emotion would take on more specific and conscious forms. For as much as abnormal phenomena were being scrutinized, there was also an effort to identify and even reproduce the trigger of wonder. This is crucial in understanding the role of Christian miracles. While miracles were commonly considered to be ‘marvelous’, as Bynum reminds us, they were more often presented by theologians in factual prose which flattened their original ability to elicit awe. The effort to verify acts of miracles turned into a “dull enumeration of events”.⁷¹ And yet, this documentation of miracles should be seen in juxtaposition with a growing tendency for the relics of saints to be collected and displayed in a sumptuous manner, from late thirteenth century on.⁷² In elaborated reliquaries covered in gold and precious materials, the bones of saints, popes, and martyrs were displayed and protected. This veneration of relics is a reminder that, as much as the marvelous was losing its ‘magic’ tones, another form of spectacular wonder was being *mastered* through the relics’ lavish presentation.

It is with the paradoxes of de-wondering that the “transference of laws from the region of magic to the region of science”,⁷³ as Flusser argued, was not subsumed entirely by its rationalization. Instead, arguably, it was re-cast, mastered and reconstructed through the spectacular presentation of relics, the popular mechanical devices constructed between the twelfth and fourteenth century to evoke wonder as a form of entertainment,⁷⁴ or the many travelogues that conveyed the strangeness of distant lands.⁷⁵ As we will show later, in our exploration of the techniques of theatrical wonder, *admiratio* was culturally constructed.

The Subject

The attempt to ‘de-wonder’ the rarities of the world, and the simultaneous attempts to recreate wondrous effects, both of which seemed to have existed side by side up to the seventeenth century, took a paradigmatic turn with René Descartes’ *The Passions of the Soul*, published in 1649. Descartes’ hostility toward secrets and mysteries⁷⁶ set wonder (*admiratio*) on a new path. “Wonder [for Descartes] is the first of all the passions”.⁷⁷ It is the first of the six primitive passions, followed by joy, sorrow, love, hatred and desire. Descartes situates these passions as “perceptions, sensations or excitations of the soul”.⁷⁸ For Descartes, we could say, passions are effects that are felt and which move the mind into acting, which are irreducible either to the cognitive or to the sensory. In Descartes, body and soul can only be understood as one single unit. He describes wonder in the following way:

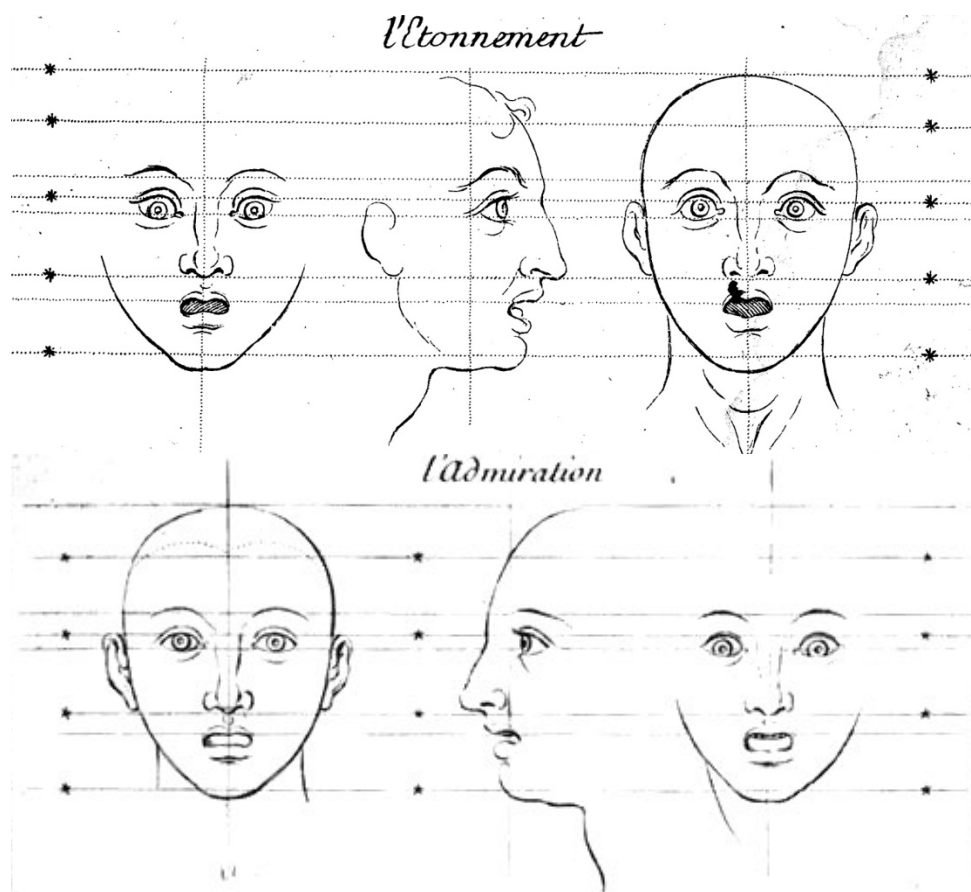
“When the first encounter with some object surprise us, and we judge it to be new, or very different from what we knew in the past or what we supposed it was going to be, this makes us wonder and be astonished at it. And since this can happen before we know in the least whether this object is suitable to us or not, it seems to me that Wonder is the first of all the passions. It has no opposite, because if the object has nothing in it that surprise us, we are not in the least moved by it and regard it without passion.”⁷⁹

For Descartes, the *surprise* does not preclude the subject’s capacity to act. In order to establish this, he makes a clear distinction between wonder and astonishment. He insists that the latter is an “excess of wonder which can never be anything but bad”.⁸⁰ Based on this distinction, Descartes argues that astonishment impedes the capacity of cognition. It interrupts the flow from the ‘impression’ of the experience into the ‘muscles’ of the brain. “This [astonishment] makes the entire body remain immobile like a statue, and renders one incapable either of perceiving anything of the object but the face first presented or, consequently, of acquiring a more specific knowledge of it”.⁸¹ In contrast to this negative excess, he emphasizes the utility of wonder as instrumental “in making us learn and retain in our memory things we have previously been ignorant of”.⁸² In this way, Descartes confirms wonder’s capacity to incite the cognition of the subject, and he warns that the capacity to retain thoughts can either be positive or negative.⁸³ It is for this very reason that we turn to Benedict de Spinoza’s disagreement with Descartes precisely in this respect. Almost three decades after Descartes, in 1677, Spinoza was to publish his *Ethics*.

For both Spinoza and Descartes, “wonder is what attunes the subject both to the world and to itself. It is an affective opening”.⁸⁴ For Descartes, it is triggered by surprise, for Spinoza it is triggered by the newness of a given thing. Yet, for Spinoza, it is precisely this novelty that prevents wonder from being part of the primitive passions. In his case only joy, sadness and desire attain such a status. “Wonder [according to Spinoza] is an imagination of a thing in which the mind remains fixed because this singular imagination has no connection with the others”.⁸⁵ In presenting wonder as a singular imagination, Spinoza stresses it as a fleeting affection of the mind: it is a distraction in so far as it resists being part of other imaginations. He continues: “this distraction of the mind does not arise from any positive cause which distracts the mind from other things, but only from the fact that there is no cause determining the mind to pass from regarding one thing to thinking of others.”⁸⁶ It could be said that Spinoza here identifies the capacity of the of preexisting thoughts to be intruded upon, to be ruptured, to be displaced from its course. Spinoza’s wonder includes that which disrupts the subject’s capacity to act. In other words, with wonder the subject’s capacity to act remains ambivalent.

If we remember Spinoza’s emphasizes that the affect of wonder either augment or diminish the capacity of acting of the subject, it is easy to infer that there was no room for the ambiguity of wonder in Spinoza’s primary passions. Nonetheless, he emphasizes what is perhaps the clearest potential of wonder: its capacity to displace the thoughts of the subject. Or, as philosopher Catherine Malabou has suggested, the affection of the mind that wonder brings about is “the soul’s realization that the self is not alone”.⁸⁷ The subject of wonder is destabilized, their power of acting and their judgment is suspended. Could this destabilization nonetheless indicate wonder’s political potential?

‘Astonishment’ and ‘Admiration’ in Le Brun, Charles. *Méthode Pour Apprendre À Dessiner Les Passions*. Amsterdam: Chez François van-der Plaats, 1702.



Today, we may not be able to speak about the sense of wonder as having any political value. Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio has advocated for the recovery of the sense of wonder, stating that “the loss of wonder is the emotional and libidinal disease of our time”.⁸⁸ Yet we have to see that this exhaustion of wonder, rather than signaling its demise, might signal its victory: the modern subject might have fallen victim to the distractions of the mind that Spinoza warned us against.

II

Situating Wonder

It is well known that Descartes' reflections on subjectivity were shaped not only by the Thirty Years' War, in which Descartes himself served, but also by the proliferation of theatrical performances that took place at the time. In 1649 Descartes not only published *The Passions of the Soul*, he is also believed to have written the libretto for the ballet *The Birth of Peace*.⁸⁹ These two realms of experience—war and theater—also shaped the papacy of Urbano VIII. To broaden our understanding of wonder, we must investigate the notion outside of its philosophical interpretation. We turn now to investigate the evocation of wonder, the manner in which it might have affected the material world of Urbano VIII. During his papacy, wonder was produced, fabricated, and staged. Historically, Urbano's pursuit of wonder anticipates the observations made by Descartes, and eventually Spinoza about this affect. In returning to Rome, if we are to continue an exploration of the spaces of the city and their relationship to papal power, what we find early in the seventeenth century is an effort by the papacy to stage wonder as a technique that clearly linked to subject formation, principally under the auspices of Urbano VIII.

A Portrait of Urbano VIII

To understand the role Maffeo Barberini (1568-1643), Pope Urbano VIII, played, we have to situate him as entering Rome as a newcomer, with no dynastic links nor an established household. The Barberini family was originally from the village of Barberino di Val d'Elsa, where they belonged to the Tuscan gentry.⁹⁰ In 1606, when Maffeo Barberini was made cardinal, he began to carefully establish the Barberini's presence in Rome. The three horse flies that used to accompany their coat of arms metamorphosed into golden bees as he took his cardinal's seat.⁹¹ One year before this, construction works had already begun for the Barberini Roman family chapel in the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle, on Rome's main thoroughfare, Via Papalis.⁹² In the building of this chapel, the Barberini were following a custom that was common among the most powerful in Rome. This was complemented by the acquisition of a family palace on the Via dei Gubbonari.⁹³ This was, according to cultural historian Peter Rietbergen, a sign of their complex aspirations for temporal and spiritual power.⁹⁴ When, in 1623, Maffeo Barberini was surprisingly elected as Pope Urbano VIII, he worked towards asserting the position of his family in Rome. Members of his family held crucial positions in Rome:⁹⁵ his elder brother, Don Carlo Barberini, was appointed as general of the Church; his nephews Francesco and Antonio were elevated as cardinals, while Taddeo remained the secular nephew. In 1632, Cardinal Francesco (1597–1679) was appointed as Vice-Chancellor of the Church;⁹⁶ Cardinal Antonio (1607–1671) became Cardinal Camerlengo in 1638; and Taddeo Barberini (1603–1647) became Prefect of Rome in 1631.⁹⁷ All of these developments announced the arrival of the Barberini in Rome.

Yet we also have to see Maffeo Barberini as a poet and as a patron of the arts.⁹⁸ Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Pietro da Cortona, Francesco Borromini, Carlo Maderno, Stefano Landi and Giulio Rospigliosi were among the many artists who served under the auspices of Urbano VIII's papal court. His poetry reveals how Urbano VIII personally understood how the profane and the sacred could be joined in a rather utilitarian fusion. Perhaps a condition that was not only latent in the medium of poetry itself, but that was also latent in Maffeo Barberini's Jesuit education. On the one hand, Rietbergen insists that Urbano VIII justified the use of poetry, its potential amoral tones and its emotional effect "by giving it a supremely moral content".⁹⁹ On the other hand, Rietbergen suggests that his Jesuit education made him aware of the instrumentality of the association between *delectare* (instruction) and *docere* (delight), which Urbano cultivated in his poetry. His poems thus appear to reconcile "pagan rhetoric and poetry with the aims of Faith".¹⁰⁰ This association between the sensual stimulation and the didactic role of the arts was common to the Jesuits and known by the reformers of the Council of Trent,¹⁰¹ yet in the hands of Urbano VIII this fusion, as we will come to see, was not only a way to cultivate devotion, it was also arguably a way to cultivate a particular type of 'subject' and even political alliances.

If the alliance between the pagan and the sacred was already present in the form in which Urbano VIII approached his poetry, his unconventional support of the science reveals his experimental character, and his openness to testing the limits of all the mediums at his disposal. Urbano VIII was a loyal supporter of the Jesuits Galilee Galilei and the polymath Athanasius Kircher, and the controversial Dominican friar, philosopher and astrologer Tommaso Campanella, among many others. It is widely known that Urbano VIII's fear of eclipses, plagues, and even of his own death led him to 'conjure' with Campanella on several documented occasions, on which they called on the heavenly signs.¹⁰² He later produced a bull on the use of astrology to vindicate him of the rumors around his inclinations toward the occult.¹⁰³ "Magic—white or black, 'accepted' by the Church or vehemently rejected by it—was an essential part of Roman Baroque culture".¹⁰⁴ The '*Roma grandissima*' of Urbano VIII, was depicted by Giovanni Maggi to capture Rome during the Jubilee of 1625¹⁰⁵. This etching not only revealed the grandiose moments of the city but also the moment the "ruins were the lair of robbers and murderers [...] and ancient monuments were [still] conceived as places of magic".¹⁰⁶ In the case of Urbano VIII, he attempted to resolve the contradictions related to his use of the occult by separating those practices that could be 'useful' to the papacy from those which he stigmatized as witchcraft.

In the geopolitical arena, contradictions were resolved during his papacy not through fixed allegiances but by "adopting a 'realpolitik' approach that insured the relevance of papal interests to other European courts".¹⁰⁷ While his papacy is remembered for his French inclinations, Urbano VIII constantly shifted his diplomatic tactics. During the Franco-Spanish conflict, which erupted in 1635, Urbano VIII tried to cast his role as that of the 'peacemaker'.¹⁰⁸ Yet neutrality had not much currency during the Thirty Years' War,¹⁰⁹ where conflicts were constantly shifting. His failure to remain relevant as a peacemaker shifted in his last years, when he became more agile in shifting allegiances and left other European "courts guessing, doubting, and unable to predict his next political move".¹¹⁰ It was clear that Urbano VIII was not oblivious to the conflicts around him. He spent generously on military-related works: he reinforced the fortifications of the Castel Sant'Angelo, he commissioned the creation of an impressive armory in the Vatican, just beneath the library,¹¹¹ he added several galleys to the papal navy, and he spent a fortune on building Fort Urbano at Castelfranco in the military harbor of Civitavecchia.¹¹²

Internally, he also attempted to strengthen the Roman court, by reducing the rights of feudal lords. In a crucial decree of 1639 Urbano VIII announced the disentanglement of titles of rank from the feudal requisite of land possession. He proclaimed that a "passage of property by selling or giving away, does not automatically transfer the title and jurisdiction connected to the land".¹¹³ This directly affected the influential Roman families known as the Roman barons or 'title lords' (*signori titolati*).¹¹⁴ This was the clearest attempt by the Papal Curia up to that point to disrupt the power of the old feudal nobility in Rome, and simultaneously to assume control over the allocation of titles of rank. As Paolo Prodi has argued, this gave definitive momentum to a "new courtly nobility", who acquired its titles

simply based on prestige.¹¹⁵ While this new court was inscribed within the structure of papal and cardinal families and their allies, it remained separate from ecclesiastical agendas, marking, as such, according to Prodi, a crucial step toward the reformulation of the court.¹¹⁶ This crowned the attempts of previous popes to diminish the feudal lords, in favor of defining a more cohesive aristocracy related to the papal machinery that could rightfully compete with other European courts.

The most novel act of geopolitical diplomacy under the auspices of Urbano VIII unfolded in a more subtle manner within Rome, through the ceremonial hosting of diplomatic guests, which took, literally, a theatrical form. Yet this has to be situated within the context of other events, such as the War of Castro. In a retrospective analysis, this war seemed to have begun as a war of decorum. It arose due to a disagreement between the Duke of Parma, Odoardo Farnese, and the nephews of the Barberini over the ceremonial departure that the Duke expected and which the Barberini failed to execute. The strife only increased. The complaints of the Duke exasperated Taddeo Barberini, who in turn began his maneuvers to diminish the power of the Farnese. First, a papal edict was proclaimed that revoked the special privileges of the Duke, leading to his experiencing financial instability. Then, in 1641, Urbano VIII sent a small armed force to take possession of the locality of Castro. Its revenues from the export of corn had provided the Duke with a steady income.¹¹⁷ What followed was a reminder that the expansion practices of the Papal States had come to an end. “Italian States had long felt jealous of the repeated extensions given to the ecclesiastical dominions.”¹¹⁸ What was a conflict that had begun over an issue of decorum led to an intense war that exhausted the coffers of the papacy and that called for a dramatic increase in taxes within Rome. It was also a reminder that the battle of the papacy was not to be only fought on military battles but also through ceremonial decorum, festivities and other more subtle and persuasive techniques. Display, decorum and festivities were not decorative gestures, nor solely performances for the purpose of entertainment—nor simply manifestations of opulence. They were political acts.

Historiography has emphasized a distinction between Urbano VIII’s early years and the context of war, heavy taxation and volatile politics that dominated the last years of his rule. His early phase is remembered for Urbano’s practices of good government: he was fully in command of his court. But, his last years as a pope are marked by Urbano’s declining health and the subsequent delegation of his power to his nephews. This history emphasizes the understanding of Urban VIII as a pope that was distant from his post, and from the chaotic events that abound in his last years. Others have used these periodization of the papacy of Urbano VIII to highlight his nepotistic practices. These speculations draw on Urbano’s contemporary chronicler,¹¹⁹ and are well documented. Yet perhaps to put much emphasis in such periodization might conceal the pope’s need to confront the conflict of the Thrifty Years’ War just as other emerging states would have had to do—through military and political alliances—where they proved to be the weaker (despite the considerable investments in military projects mobilized by Urbano VIII). Rather, I believe it is more interesting to see Urbano as a continuous facilitator of the development of more sensual techniques of power. Techniques that were

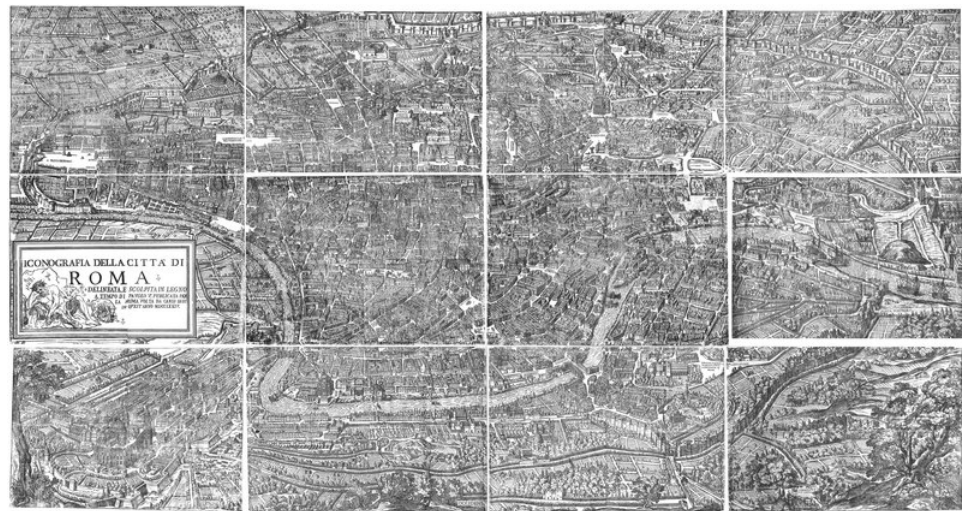
carried out more often by his nephews in Rome, and which they execute consistently since the early years in which they were appointed in the most prominent positions of the Roman court. Urbano's importance, therefore, perhaps does not lie in any consistent authoritative vision, but in the fact that he was a facilitator of a culture of persuasion that was latent in the papacy and that was highly relevant during his rule.

Rome: A Battlefield for Attention

"The papal warlike machine does not pour forth flames, but sweet water to extinguish the flames of war."¹²⁰
Urbano VIII

Unlike in the previous chapter, where we focused on Eugenius IV and Sixtus V relationship between the transformation of space and the concomitant transformation of power, this examination will find that while Urbano VIII's interventions in the city of Rome were famous, he was one among many players in his quest for visual prominence in the city. In order to understand the role of the theater, one has to begin by locating the changes that took place in Rome at this time as being driven by forces that were beyond his control. It is only in relation to the factions Urbano had to confront in the space of the city that we can understand the active role that theater came to play, not only against these local factions, but also against the geopolitical chaos that surrounded the city of Rome.

Giovanni Maggi, 1625. Bird's eye view of Rome.



Consider for a moment the cartographic representation of Rome by Giovanni Maggi, of 1625¹²¹. It is not a coincidence that, despite the abundant detail engraved in his representation, Rome appears to have no spatial hierarchy. As Jessica Maier has stated: "No monuments or urban features are favored, nor does he emphasize the infrastructure by widening streets or clearing paths. The sheer graphic density of the woodcut overpowers individual elements".¹²² Maggi's map sits apart from the rich cartographic tradition of Rome, in which it was common for engravers to emphasize a given building, artifact or street in the city: for example, the axially of Tempesta's map of the Rome of Sixtus V, or

the many representations of Rome's seven basilicas, where certain elements are rescaled or reoriented to emphasize a given moment in the history of the city's transformation, and so on. Instead, in this map, "Maggi smoothed monumental Rome into a continuous and mostly undifferentiated urban tapestry, a reversal of the old ideogrammatic paradigm".¹²³ The lack of emphasis in Maggi's map could perhaps signal something else: perhaps it is a reminder that the insistence of the Roman elite on claiming their rightful status in Rome through the space they occupy in the city had been nullified one another in Maggi's map.

The search for visual prominence was indeed a common practice on the part of the Roman elite. It took many forms, from the building of family palaces, to the commissioning of public fountains, to the regularization of public squares, among many others. As Joseph Connors has argued, by the seventeenth century, visual prominence—*Visualisierung*¹²⁴—was not only pursued through grandiose urban gestures, as had been the case under Sixtus V, but through surgical architectural details. Connors refers to this as a "surgical conception of town planning".¹²⁵ He describes a moment during the Barberini era, when the streets of Rome had already been so regulated that "it was almost impossible for anyone to advance a building line significantly onto the public street".¹²⁶ Property boundaries had already been clearly defined and any alteration to them created disputes among the nobility and religious orders. Urbano VIII was indeed able to show off his position with the newly refurbished Palazzo Barberini in the north of the Quirinal Hill, and through crucial modifications to the former Piazza Grimana, which became known as Piazza Barberini in Via delle Quattro Fontane.¹²⁷ Scale, and grandiose gestures, were during Urbano VIII times, easily displaced in Rome by other minor interventions. That there was no mark of visual prominence in the Rome of Urbano speaks about another the struggle for political prominence within Rome.

Connors maps a series of architectural motifs that were equally effective in claiming space in Rome as in expressing the status of the rising aristocracy, and which were nevertheless expressive of a conflict between the different factions in Rome. Connors shifts our attention to the role of the design of the "protruding corners"¹²⁸ of palaces, to the rising importance of the use of balconies, the role of optical symmetries, facade details, small open spaces, and the like. He shows that even the smallest spatial act in Rome involved convoluted social and political struggles. The space of Rome was contested: even the smallest architectural feature played a role in the struggles for power.

While Urbano VIII's political and religious power was recognized in Rome, his "authority... was [as scholar Laurie Nussdorfer argues] not as easily monopolized as the pontiff tried to suggest".¹²⁹ By the seventeenth century, the number of players in the struggle for power in Rome was increasing. To the existing tensions between the civic offices and the Papal Curia, the Roman people and the rising aristocracy, the landscape of power in Rome saw the addition, during Urbano's papacy, of an increasing role of foreign dignitaries in Rome. With a population of around 115,000¹³⁰ Rome was not among the biggest cities in Europe at the time, but its role as both the capital of the Papal States and

of Christendom, as well as its relative political and economic stability, made it a magnet for high dignitaries from all over Europe. The rhetorical questions that Giovanni Botero posed at the end of the sixteenth century in regard to Rome were as relevant for the Rome of the Barberini. Botero asked: “Would not Rome, the capital of the world, be more like a desert than a city if the Supreme Pontiff did not reside there, and magnify the city with his splendid court and the ambassadors, prelates and princess who flock there? And if he did not populate it with the infinite number of people from every nation, who have recourse to his authority or that of his ministers?”¹³¹ By the seventeenth century, Rome had become a microcosm of the powerful dynasties and principdoms of Europe, as well as a “battleground for distant political conflicts”.¹³² Every square in Rome showed tensions that had their origins elsewhere. While it was not until the late seventeenth century, as Nussdorfer has argued, that foreign dignitaries began to acquire formal residences to serve as ‘embassies’ in Rome, most foreign powers were nevertheless associated with the churches they patronized in the city.¹³³ When the Franco-Spanish War erupted in 1635, the churches of these two nations were just a few blocks away from each other in Rome: the Spanish San Giacomo in Piazza Navona, and San Luigi of the French not far from the latter. Riots threatened, and the effort of the pope to remain neutral while having a reputation of favoring the French ensured the tension remained high.¹³⁴ This is not the place to describe the tensions between the Romans. Laurie Nussdorfer has already provided an exhaustive account of this matter. What is crucial here is that in such a fragile political context, the pope had to command the attention not only of those involved in internal factions in Rome, but also those threatening him from abroad. Security was about to take a sensual dimension—the battle for attention.

For the papacy to express its supreme power in Rome, it was no longer possible to rely only on imprinting its vision onto the fabric of the city. A more effective strategy was pursued within the Barberini palace and through the ephemeral festivities and acts of decorum which Urbano VIII facilitated. Always on the verge of destabilization, Rome witnessed a silent battle for visual attention: new strategies had to be developed. This battle was not only conducted through the physical space, but arguably through an unprecedented program of theatrical performances carried out by the papal court. The Barberini, inadvertently or not, capitalized in this contest for visual attention by shifting the ground of struggle from the space of the city to the theatrical performances that took place there. It could be said that the struggle of the Barberini for prominence continued through the interior spaces of their salons, where endless festivities took place privately to entertain the rising court—from operas to banquets, as well as to the many religious and secular theatrical festivities that were held more publicly in Rome—from the Quarantore (‘the feast of the 40 hours’) to the popular carnival. This was a battle where different factions were immersed in a world of awe and wonder which carries with it specific political messages, as we will see below. This was the Barberini’s effort to exploit the potential of subverting citizens through the immediacy of the perception, to expose an audience to an overwhelming confrontation between their capacity to sense and their capacity to think. It was an attempt to mediate the struggles in and beyond Rome through the equally violent power of

constructing an artificial world through theatrical and architectural devices, but to organize it with an orientation in the world: an ethos.

In this way the muddled political spatial landscape of Rome called for new means of expression on the part of the different factions in Rome, but also for new techniques of coercion by which the Papal Curia attempted to subsume all of the different factions: theatrical performances.

The Theater's Return to Rome

“All the great amusements are dangerous for the Christian life. But among all those that the world has invented, none is to be more feared than the theatre. Drama is such a realistic and sensitive representation of the passions that it excites them, and gives birth to such passions in our heart. This is especially true of the passion of love, chiefly when the playwright presents it as chaste and virtuous; for the more innocent the passion seems to innocent natures, the more capable they are of being touched. At the same time, they form their conscience on the decency of these sentiments, and they imagine that no harm can come from a love so good. So they leave the theatre with their hearts so full of all the sweetness of love, and the mind so convinced of its innocence, that they are ready to receive their first emotions – or, rather, to seek out the opportunity to arouse such feelings in someone's heart, in order to receive the same pleasures and the same sacrifices that they have seen so aptly shown on the stage.”¹³⁵ Marquise de Sablé, Maxim LXXXI

Theater remained a controversial medium in the seventeenth century. Despite the development of theatrical techniques, the use of perspectival scenes, optical illusions and a renewed interest in classical theater, its actual religious role within the Catholic Church was until the seventeenth century a matter of dispute. In the sixteenth century, under the patronage of Florentine pope Leo X, born Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici (ruled 1513–1521), theater gained enormous support. Yet, by the end of the fifteenth century, theatrical apparatuses had already been condemned by the Council of Milan, in 1582.¹³⁶ Carlo Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan from 1565 to 1584, objected to theatrical plays by insisting that they were “the source and base of nearly all evils and all crimes”.¹³⁷ Borromeo's reaction against theater was categorical—he even condemned religious drama, “on the grounds that the actions against God and the saints depicted on stage elicited reactions among the viewers of disgust, laughter, or annoyance”.¹³⁸ Tridentine reformers, such as the influential Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597), friend of Borromeo, feared the negative effects of theater and attempted to control the production of images. He wrote his *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*, which was also published in 1582.¹³⁹ Many other influential voices added to the complaints against the use of theater and images, yet no general regulation was imposed.¹⁴⁰

The rather brief decree on the role of images emerged out of the last session of the Council of Trent in 1563.¹⁴¹ Yet, in those scant remarks of the Council, there is no specific mention of the role theater was to have. The remarks, however, are relevant in our attempt to understand the general role of the arts. The tone is absolute in regards to the aversion to the seductive appeal of the images. The decree

proclaims: “All superstition must be removed from invocation of the saints, veneration of relics, and use of sacred images; all aiming at base profit must be eliminated; all sensual appeal must be avoided, so that images are not painted or adorned with seductive charm”.¹⁴² Spectators were considered, in the words of Paleotti, unable “to regulate their judgment by the light of reason, and if one wanted to satisfy them, one would have to condescend to their often irrational appetites”.¹⁴³ The Trent decree seems to be less favorable toward the role of sensual pleasure, while Paleotti invites us instead to cultivate it—with, of course, much qualifications. The *Discourse* specifies the distinctions between sacred and profane images, techniques to inspire devotional sentiments, the role of imitation, warnings about the abuses of art, and his personal interpretation of Trent. Throughout the text there seems to be the insistence that pictures are instrumental regarding emotions, in so far as they can “stimulate the senses and excite spirituality and devotion”.¹⁴⁴ For Paleotti, painters are “silent theologians”,¹⁴⁵ the art of design corresponds to the art of speaking in its ability “to delight, teach and move”.¹⁴⁶ In remembering the role of the councils and that of its theoreticians, such as Paleotti, it is important to emphasize the great disagreements among them, and between the Council and the papacy. Paleotti, a member of the Council of Trent, was, for example, an advocate of the “senatorial function of the college of cardinals against rampant papal absolutism”.¹⁴⁷ Two things are important to emphasize here: on the one hand, the accentuated disagreement that existed internally within the Church between what was forbidden and possible in relation to sensorial experience; and, on the other hand, the lack of consensus among members of the Council of Trent,¹⁴⁸ and between the Council and the pope.

In the history of the Church disagreements about the religious utility of the sensory had long been discussed. It was already an object of reflection for Saint Augustine who, while not referring to theater, but rather to music, brings out the question of the utility of sensorial experience. In his *Confessions*, Augustine states: “I fluctuate between the danger of pleasure and the experience of the beneficent effect, and I am more led to put forward the opinion (not as irrevocable view) that the custom of singing in Church is to be approved, so that through the delights of the ear the weaker mind may rise up towards the devotion of worship. Yet when it happens to me that the music moves me more than the subject of the song, I confess myself to commit a sin deserving punishment, and then I would prefer not to have heard the singer”.¹⁴⁹ As was the case for Paleotti and Borromeo, or in this case Augustine, the source, effect, and utility of sensorial delight were a subject of concern for the Christian Church, and yet, paradoxically, it was such experiences of delight that were also continuously exploited by the Church.

If it was permitted at all, theater, as was the case for sacred music,¹⁵⁰ was allowed only for didactic purposes.¹⁵¹ Religious theater, for some time, receded from the eyes of the populace. But, because the restrictions on theatrical performances were only sporadically applied,¹⁵² performance continued to develop only slowly – but within the privacy of courtly palaces, or, in the case of the Jesuit order, within its college and performed under strict rules of austerity.¹⁵³ Symbolically, there was the advice

given to cardinals to observe a performance behind a screen, a *gelosie*.¹⁵⁴ This was a tradition that began with Pope Leo XI, who ruled only for a few days in 1605, but who, as a cardinal, was well known for observing performances behind a slatted shutter. This element of privacy—nothing more than a piece of movable furniture¹⁵⁵—was an element of decorum which seemed to have prevented the audience from seeing the Curia become moved by the profane emotions instigated in the theater. Several accounts of papal court ceremonials of the time, from that of papal historian Girolamo Lunadoro¹⁵⁶ to that of papal critic Gregorio Leti,¹⁵⁷ emphasized the use of this screen, the most simple of all architectural obstructions. In these accounts, cardinals were also advised to avoid attending comedies, and those aspiring to the papal seat were advised to avoid attending at all.¹⁵⁸ While in practice there are only a few records of the actual imposition of these rules,¹⁵⁹ their mention in the literature serves nevertheless as a metaphor to situate the sensory temptation of the theater. This screen was perhaps one of the first ‘illusions’ of the theater, perhaps based on the belief that the cardinals would remain immune to their emotions if they hid behind this sort of prophylactic device. But the screen is also a reminder of the much feared seduction and sensorial temptations that could be advanced through the theater.

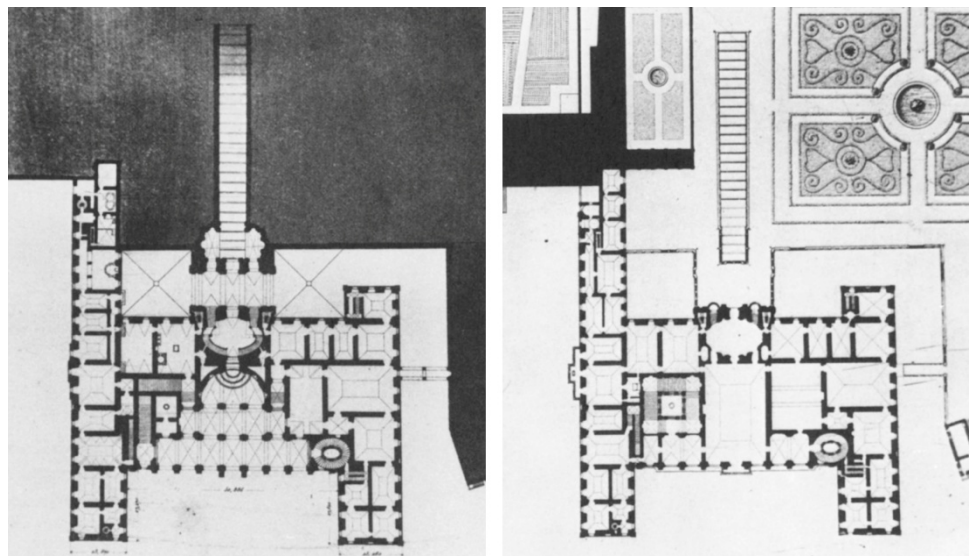
It is crucial to remember this concern and the general warning against sensual delight in the context of Urbano VIII. It makes it clear that his role as a facilitator of a theatrical culture in a court that had been shaped through his appointments remained somewhat within his control. While in Florence, where he and his family had lived in their formative years,¹⁶⁰ theater was more established, its use in Rome and especially its religious use in the papal court was contentious. For the pope to facilitate such culture was to exercise his supremacy against the councils, and to reinforce the courtly practices of the rising aristocracy in the context of the Thirty Years’ War. The theater would become central under the papacy of Urbano VIII, yet, it was not embraced as the result of Counter-Reformation policies. The Roman Catholic Church trod lightly for many years in respect to the theater. That Urbano VIII facilitated its return to Rome was a political act. As cultural historian Peter Rietbergen reminds us: “when pestilence, political unrest and war created chaos all over Europe, in Rome a munificent monarch created an infrastructure of academies to further not only the *artes liberales* but also mathematics, medicine and other new sciences”.¹⁶¹ Urban VIII, together with his cardinal nephews, turned Rome into the epicenter of European culture,¹⁶² despite the chaos that surrounded the city. Theater was fully embraced within the papal court. Their attempt was perhaps not only intended to persuade the faithful, but also to cultivate the senses of the factions that were separating Europe. The controversy is a reminder that sensorial experience was, it could be said, capable of shaping thoughts, of molding the ‘believer’, of producing a specific subject. This was a lesson that would have to wait until Descartes to be made concretely, but in the Rome of Urbano VIII it was already clear that to monopolize sensorial experience was one of the silent aims of power—and perhaps this continues to be the case.

III

The Barberini's Theater

It was in Palazzo Barberini that many of the receptions, banquets and private spectacles were held. Foreign dignitaries, the emerging Roman aristocracy, scholars and crucial members of the Church were transformed from actors in the struggles for territorial and religious power at the time into members of the audience of the theater of the Barberini, subject to unwritten rules of decorum, and observers of an affective dimension of power that emerged in front of their eyes. Among those that attended this theater we know there was the ambassador of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, Prince Eggenberg, the richest member of the Habsburg dynasty;¹⁶³ Alexander Charles Vasa, brother to the Polish King Vladislav; John Milton;¹⁶⁴ and Cardinal J. Mazarin, who played a crucial diplomatic role in French foreign policy;¹⁶⁵ among many others.¹⁶⁶ This display was no longer about competing with the Roman barons: the palace was a diplomatic venue with territorial aspirations. The palace, it could be said, became a node of power.¹⁶⁷

'Palazzo Barberini plan ground floor and *piano nobile*'
from Letarouilly, Paul. *Edifices de Rome moderne*.
Paris, 1840.



For a long time the cultivation of status through palace architecture had been well established in Rome. From Palazzo Vaticano to Palazzo Farnese, architectural precedents abound. Yet, while more commonly the architectural form of Renaissance palaces was articulated as a unified block, a compact volume enveloping a courtyard, a monolith which expressed its presence through the integrity of its form, symmetry, and proportions, the Barberini palace stood at a distance from previous models. On the one hand, its final architectural expression was governed by the existing structure of the Sforza Palace, which was bought by Francesco Barberini in 1625,¹⁶⁸ as well as the subsequent acquisition of the southern parcels by the Barberini, which made it possible to imagine its substantial expansion.¹⁶⁹ As the Sforza palace, the building consisted of a narrow, elongated and irregular wing, running from east to west and located above Piazza Grimani, today's Piazza Barberini.¹⁷⁰ There were also many other design proposals considered by the Barberini: from those of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger, who proposed on separating the new building from the existing Sforza structure, to its consolidation as an L-shape enclosing the site, as proposed by both Giovanni Battista Agucchi and Felice de Bianchi, or those whose authors have remained anonymous which contemplated the consolidation of new and old into a symmetric rectangular volume.¹⁷¹ Yet the Barberini were clearly after a rather different expression, one which eventually would be remembered in architectural historiography as the first Baroque palace in Rome.¹⁷²

The final design was led by Carlo Maderno, with the assistance of Gianlorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini and Pietro da Cortona.¹⁷³ Consistent with the wish of Taddeo Barberini to separate ecclesiastical visits from secular ones,¹⁷⁴ the final design consisted of two separate wings (the northern one taken from the existing Sforza palace) joined by a large central space. The latter receded from the western facade line as it framed the single portico entrance, allowing the two wings to appear distinctly apart while symbolically being linked by the practicality of a common access. This H-shaped plan seamlessly formalized the practical separation between the more private areas of the apartments which occupied the wings, and the central volume, the open portico of which welcomed visitors into the most public spaces of the palace. Symbolically, the two wings separated the apartment of Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna, who managed the temporal affairs of the family, from the south wing with the apartment of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who managed the spiritual affairs. Indeed, these were two palaces, but rather than fusing their formal image into a single block, as had been the case with other palaces with the same constraints,¹⁷⁵ the Barberini palace insisted on externalizing its bipartite structure through its architecture. Symbolically, the two wings were united through the grand salon on the *piano nobile*, decorated by Pietro Cortona's fresco, *The Triumph of Divine Providence*, which Urbano VIII exerted much influence on.¹⁷⁶ This bipartite arrangement was not timid about representing the growing duality of power within the papal court. It not only marked the unavoidable alliance of secular and spiritual power which shaped the affairs of the Papal States, but also the impossibility of the pope's spiritual power standing alone.

Indeed, the insistence on expressing the duality of the Barberini's power, as manifested in the exterior of the palace, inverts itself in the theatrical receptions held within the palace. Two separate stairs, believed to be the design of Bernini (the north) and Borromini (the south), led to the grand salon on *piano nobile*, unavoidably meeting just as quickly as they departed from one another on the ground floor portico. It was in the south anteroom of *piano nobile*, known as the *salotto*, that receptions, operas, recitals and other events were first held to a selected audience of secular and ecclesiastical guests. Today this room is known as the *sala delle statue*.¹⁷⁷ This was a spacious vaulted room capable of hosting comfortably up to 150 persons.¹⁷⁸ The hosting of events in this setting would have required the temporary construction of a theatrical stage. It was a common practice among the Roman nobility for private performances to take place within palaces.¹⁷⁹ However, toward the end of the 1630s this practice was radically changed within the Barberini palace, as the Barberini commissioned the construction of a large annex to serve as their permanent venue for theatrical receptions. This marked not only the increased interest in theater, but also made evident that the court theater was to play a discernible role as a diplomatic machine.

The theater was built with funds provided by the three Barberini brothers. It was built perpendicularly and contiguous to the north wing of the palace, directly above the Barberini square, which gave direct access to the guest coaches, adding to the decorum of the reception. The hall was generously sized, at around 30 by 26 meters.¹⁸⁰ It was made use of an existing wall that is believed to have been designed by Pietro Cortona, which included a rusticated gate and four high windows, to which an additional story was built to give it its vast interior proportions.¹⁸¹ Its impressive scale compensated for the lack of interior details. The theater was capable of hosting an audience of around 3,000 to 4000 people: an unprecedented size for Rome.¹⁸² As music scholar Frederick Hammond suggests, this would have been roughly comparable to the capacity of today's Metropolitan Opera House in New York. If only for its scale, the Barberini theater was about to capture the eyes of the Roman elite.

However, it is curious that, despite the crucial developments in theater design that were already available to the Barberini, their new theater remained quite austere. At the time of its construction the Teatro Farnese in Parma had already been built: this was of a similar size and had a permanent proscenium arch and a fixed seating area. The interior of the Barberini theater, by contrast, had no fixed theatrical stage, no ornamentation, no permanent seating area, and its crown-post structure was exposed, presenting it as something of a "unsophisticated barn-like structure".¹⁸³ By the time of the completion of the Barberini court theater, which many believe was in 1639,¹⁸⁴ the classical distinction between stage and audience had already been re-introduced to the Renaissance theater, as well as the importance of a measurable space calculable through the abstraction of perspectival logic. Evidence of this was manifested, not only in the Farnese theater, but it was also present in Palladio's Teatro Olimpico of 1580. The latter not only re-established the role of the proscenium arch, it also established the theater's role in fixing and emphasizing the use of perspectival scenery, in the attempt to privilege a single viewpoint. It was from such privilege perspectival point of view from which all

the imperfect eyes will subsequently be acquainted for. Even earlier, Leon Battista Alberti, in the first half of the cinquecento, had already systematized linear perspective in his treatise *De Pictura* of 1436. And he had also, through his encounter with Vitruvius' fifth book, reminded the world of not only the different types of theater (comedy, tragedy and satire), its construction, machinery and acoustics, but, especially, the crucial "spatial division between a performing stage—the *scaena*—and the audience space—the *auditorium*".¹⁸⁵ In his *De Re Aedificatoria*, Alberti insisted on the importance of *spectacula* (show buildings), stating that feast days were useful both "to cultivate the minds of the citizens through concourse and communion, and to make them more receptive to the benefits of friendship".¹⁸⁶

In other words, the Barberini court had at their hands not only knowledge of the classical theater, but also of the perspectival stage. With classical theater the definition of the audience was established, as the proscenium arch visually framed the performance on the stage and separate the action of the stage from the spectators. With the construction of a perspectival stage design, psychophysiological space, as Erwin Panofsky argued in *Perspective as a Symbolic Form*, becomes abstracted as a mathematical space.¹⁸⁷ In other words, if the proscenium frames the manner in which the performance is to be observed by a group, perspectival sets define how it will be individualized: the theater dwells in the interplay between these two fields of perception. It is this play of receptivity which perhaps caused Alberti to emphasize the utility of spectacles as a seductive medium the political potential of which was fully exploited in the seventeenth century. Against these ways of thinking about theatrical performances, stands the architectural austerity of the interior of the Barberini courtly theater. At first glance, it appeared as a sort of 'black box', yet, almost antithetically to modern black box theaters, the separation between audience and stage was recreated with the particularities of every operatic performance. The Barberini did not deny the development of theatrical techniques, stage design and effects, rather they mastered them. For every performance, a theatrical industry was mobilized to recreate the elevated perspectival stage: scene designer, architect-engineer, masons, carpenters, scene-painters, and many more.¹⁸⁸ Furniture and apparatuses could be arranged according to the event and those expected to attend: armchairs, tabours and benches were arranged in accordance to the social rank. In its perpetual recreation of the architecture of the theater, the focus turned from the architecture of the palace to the theatrical effects. In its endless recreations, the Barberini mastered not only the artifice of the proscenium arch which fixed the form in which collective experience could be prescribed. But, also in recreating the stage with its required stage effects, and the seating arrangement for those visiting the performance, the Barberini experienced a new form of communicating with the audience.. As the perspectival stage framed the privileged view, it also provided a measurement for the imperfection of spatial experience. Total and yet individual, the Barberini theater became a vessel for the expansion of the realm of wonder, where admiration and reverence for the social procedures of the bipolar power of the papacy were to be artificially produced and, arguably, also reproduced.

Il Sant'Alessio: Setting the Stage, Constructing the State

Even before the Barberini theater was completed, the conventions of the perspectival stage and machinery were reconstructed in the *salotto* at the Barberini palace at Quattro Fontana. It was there that the opera *Il Sant'Alessio* was performed on several occasions, first in the context of the carnival of 1632, and then in 1634. As one of the early Barberini operas,¹⁸⁹ its importance lies, according to

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Roma, 1634. Introduzione del Paologo.



music scholar Frederick Hammond, in having “established a pattern for the subsequent Barberini operas”.¹⁹⁰ *Il Sant'Alessio* touches on themes that were crucial to the Barberini: the alliance between the city of Rome and the supremacy of their temporal power, the picture of imperfect worldliness, their association with ideas of just governance, and the insistence on “the choice of rule by love rather than by force”.¹⁹¹

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Rome, 1634. Atto Primo, Scena Quinta.



As its name announces, the opera presents the history of Alexis, a fifth-century Roman noble, who left his comfortable life and family in Rome to follow an ascetic Christian life. In the play, Alexis goes to the east on a pilgrimage and returns to Rome, concealing his identity. Having fled his world to follow his spiritual calling, he returns to Rome as an unrecognizable beggar and takes refuge under the stairs of his family's Roman palace. From there, Alexis remains in tortuous silence: he observes from a disturbing distance the grief his departure has caused his family. He is tempted by the devil, who advocates for the Alexis' to follow his own desires to return to his life by announcing his identity. It is believed that for the performance of 1632, the devil's hell scene was the work of Pietro da Cortona, who knew well how to move the eye into pleasure.¹⁹² Yet, instead, Alexis follows an angel, who states: "Your call is that of an untried path: the just man is not subject to common laws. You must obey other laws, and all shall wonder at it".¹⁹³ With these words, and accompanied by many more angels, Alexis receives the news of his death. The angel's speech is perhaps the only moment in the play at which Alexis experiences sheer delight, as he repeatedly states: "*O morte gradita*". Alexis' death is then reflected upon the entrance of the allegorical figure of 'religion', who refers to Alexis as a "new Hercules".¹⁹⁴ The entrance into the scene of allegorical figures was common to the theatrical performances set up by the Barberini, and it serves to emphasize the message. In this case, the figure of religion expounds upon Alexis' fleeting joy: he presents it as a condition of temporal life, stating that: "no heart finds respite on earth".¹⁹⁵ It is with this note that the performance continues: with Alexis' death, his identity is finally revealed to his family through a note that recounts his travels, life and suffering. From here joy and suffering remain closer than ever in the play. The family is faced with an unfulfilled human love, they have lost Alexis again, but this time they are comforted by angels. Together, family and angels sing, celebrating Alexis' entrance into paradise. And it is in this context that the only stage machinery of the 1632 performance is being used to open up the clouds in order to reveal Alexis in Paradise.¹⁹⁶ As the third act closes, the message is clear: it is all about Rome —Romans and angels singing together: "*Felice Roma*".

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Roma, 1634. Atto Primo, Scena Quarta.



It is almost as if the bipolarity I analysed above with the Barberini palace wings, and the secular and spiritual affairs of the Barberini attempted to reconcile with the closing of this opera, as all actors—mortals and angels—sing along praising Rome. Roma, who as an allegorical figure, had also opened the play in the prologue, aim to guide the audience in learning about the relation between the fifth-century saint's life of Alexis and that of the history of the city. In doing this, *Il Sant'Alessio* not only reaffirms a story of sainthood, it also reminds the audience of that story's long-lasting relation to the city. Rome, in this case, as it is presented in relation to Alessio's pilgrimage to the east, also speaks about its imperial history. That the opera actively engages in the construction of a particular history cannot be separated from the construction of statecraft, in which the stage seemed to collaborate. It is not surprising, then, that *Il S. Alessio* was performed to honor the imperial ambassador Prince Hans Ulrich von Eggenberg in 1632. Nor, is it surprising that its major revision in 1634 coincided with the visit of the Polish King's brother, Alexander Charles Vasa.¹⁹⁷ Despite the diminishing power of Poland, the alliance between the latter and the papacy was much cultivated by the Barberini. Poland represented for Urbano VIII not only the possibility to reconcile the Roman Catholic Church with the Russian Church but also to expand the influence of the Barberini in eastern Europe.¹⁹⁸ In this picture the history of Alexis was a history also of the domination of the Roman Church, especially in the east, an image that the Barberini wished to perpetuate. In addition, *Il Sant'Alessio*, as a story of the arrival to sainthood of Alexis, emphasizes the heroic nature of the saint's becoming.¹⁹⁹ The history of the Roman Church was being regulated both through the stage and through the proclamation of bulls that established strict regulations regarding the cult of saintly figures.²⁰⁰ In this way, the play legitimizes and attempts to make indistinguishable not only the history of Rome's superiority, but also of its practices.

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Rome, 1634. Scena aggiunta per introduzione di un ballo.



While of course this is the prototypical message of the Counter-Reformation, it is also a story that coincides with the construction of early statecraft. It is not only about the spiritual call: it is also about how Rome constructs its history by attempting to capture its subject's affective capacity, just as the

angel had announced. The sacrifice of Alexis's family was contrasted with the promise of eternal pleasure which no power could grant but that of Rome. In the prologue, the sadness of the family is contrasted with the mercy and charity of Rome. As the allegorical figure of Rome presents the story of Alexis, she is surrounded by slaves: at her command, the chains are released as a symbol of her mercy and her will to rule over hearts.²⁰¹ In doing so, Rome is praised by the chorus for her "peaceful sovereignty, worshipped with happy prayers, [Rome] is the queen of devoted hearts".²⁰² Rome's emphasis of Rome, as the angel's, is to call for admiration through untested laws. The attempt here is not simply to entertain but to propagate the compatibility of mercy and absolute power invested in Rome.²⁰³ This coupling is concerned with the cultivation of *admiratio*, by "devoted hearts" who not only feel the power of Rome but admire it.

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Roma, 1634. Atto secondo, scena sesta.



In turn, Alexis's task is to make his pleasure somehow desirable to the audience, to move their emotions while simultaneously instructing them as to how to get closer to his joy. It is crucial that Alexis' asceticism is not portrayed through punishment, but as the *transformation* of his conduct. The tension of unfulfilled desires which runs throughout the three acts, the impossibility of consummating the love between the family and Alexis on earth, finds '*justice*' through the promise of his final transformation,²⁰⁴ which is celebrated as the mercy of Rome's 'peaceful sovereignty' over temporal life. This explains perhaps the reason why the Barberini chose to tell the story of Alexis. Before the Barberini play, the history of Alexis was already well established: he was known as Alexius the Man of God from Rome, who settled as a beggar in Edessa, and was part of the legends of Syriac culture, where early notions of asceticism were articulated.²⁰⁵ Scholar Susan A. Harvey reminds us that in the early articulation of asceticism, where this story belongs, Alexis was one pole of two versions of asceticism. If Alexis remained among the citizens to serve as a model of conduct, the other model was represented, according to Harvey, by the line of Simeon, a contemporary of Alexius whose life was characterized by its strict separation from the world of others – the life of a hermit and monk. In selecting the history of Alexius, the play portrays the formation of a subject that attempts to form

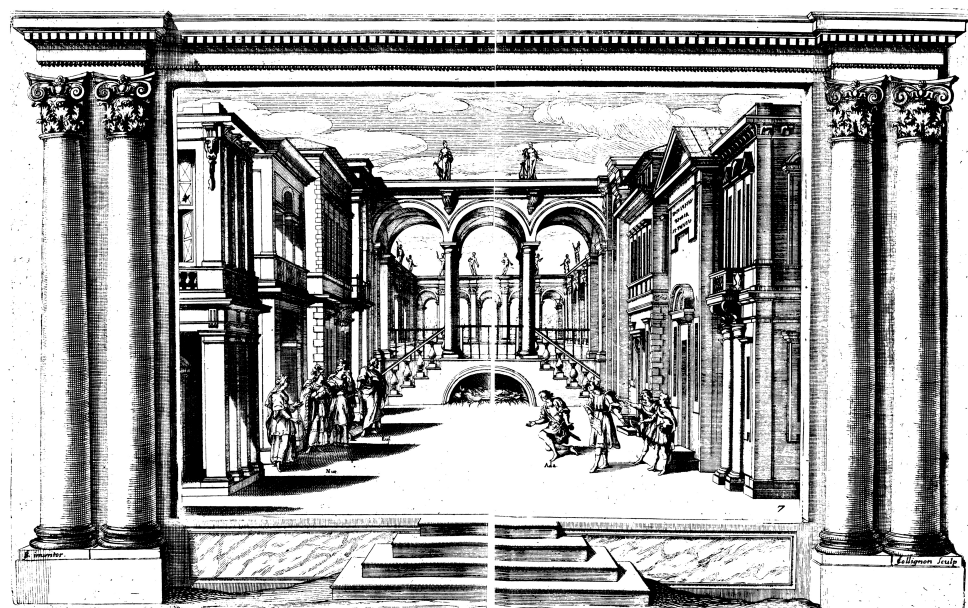
subjects in return. Perhaps the construction of subjectivity found its early lessons here with Alexis as he is presented not only as a saint related to the history of Rome, but especially as his role appears to provide a model of conduct.

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Rome, 1634. Atto terzo, scena quinta.



Here again we see the Jesuit principles that guided Urbano's poetry, *delectare* and *docere*: instruction and delight.²⁰⁶ These principles are now also guiding the *libretto* of *Il Sant'Alessio*, which was written by Giulio Rospigliosi (1600–1669) later Pope Clemente IX, a Tuscan and a Jesuit. In the opera the music of Stefano Landi was carefully coupled with Rospigliosi's text. And, yet, Rospigliosi's tone in *Il Sant'Alessio* "is not a glorification of mundane pleasure or even of sacred delights, but world-weariness, disillusionment, and resignation".²⁰⁷ The actual currency of the Barberini, as expressed in this opera, was not so much the promise of salvation, as the understanding of the fleeting temporal joy that takes place at the climax of the play. Again, *Il Sant'Alessio* is not about fulfilling the temporal world, but about creating desires in the temporal world: it is about moving subjects, so that they desire 'peaceful sovereignty'.

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Rome, 1634. Atto secondo, scena nona.



The desire of this fleeting joy, the mercy of temporal power, and the perpetuation of the alignment of the history of Rome with that of its practices, was perhaps what began, in the Barberini, to be captured as the cultivation of *admiratio*. And yet that it becomes performative reveals a more complex picture of the intertwining of the realm of sensorial perception and that of affective power. For this we need to turn to the sets, and effects, of the play. For the performance of 1632, the stage was quite austere, with only one stage machine, which was dedicated to mark the importance of the moving clouds, which opened to reveal the paradise where Alexis finally resided. As opposed to this, the performance of 1634 saw major revisions, not only to the narrative but also to the stage design. For the latter, the prologue was edited to welcome the Polish prince.²⁰⁸ And for the stage machinery, the Barberini hired the artificer Francesco Giutti, who was considered one of “the greatest stage designer of the age”.²⁰⁹ With Giutti’s contribution, “the allegorical figure of Rome descended in a machine, and angel flew on and off, the Devil turned into a bear and later disappeared into the Inferno, and Religion descended on a cloud”.²¹⁰ With Giutti’s aid, *Il Sant’ Alessio* sought to remain in the minds of the spectators. This became clear with the distribution of a commemorative score that was published very soon after the 1634 performance. According to Hammond, the scale of distribution of this score was unprecedented, making clear that its purpose was not so much the reproduction of the music of the opera, but that of the story.²¹¹ The scores were accompanied by engravings of the stage design for the 1634²¹² performance were published together with the scores.²¹³

Landi, Stefano. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale*. Rome, 1634. Atto terzo, scena terza.



Through such engravings we can begin to imagine how the *salotto* was converted into a theater: two columns on each side allowed for the recreation of the proscenium. The stage was elevated to make room for the devil’s trap in the floor, and especially to increase the distance between stage and audience. The different sets used a perspectival construction which was praised by those who attended.²¹⁴ For most of the performance the story unfolded on a Roman street set, which emphasized the image of a perfectly orderly Rome.²¹⁵ The actors were organized, and performed, along the

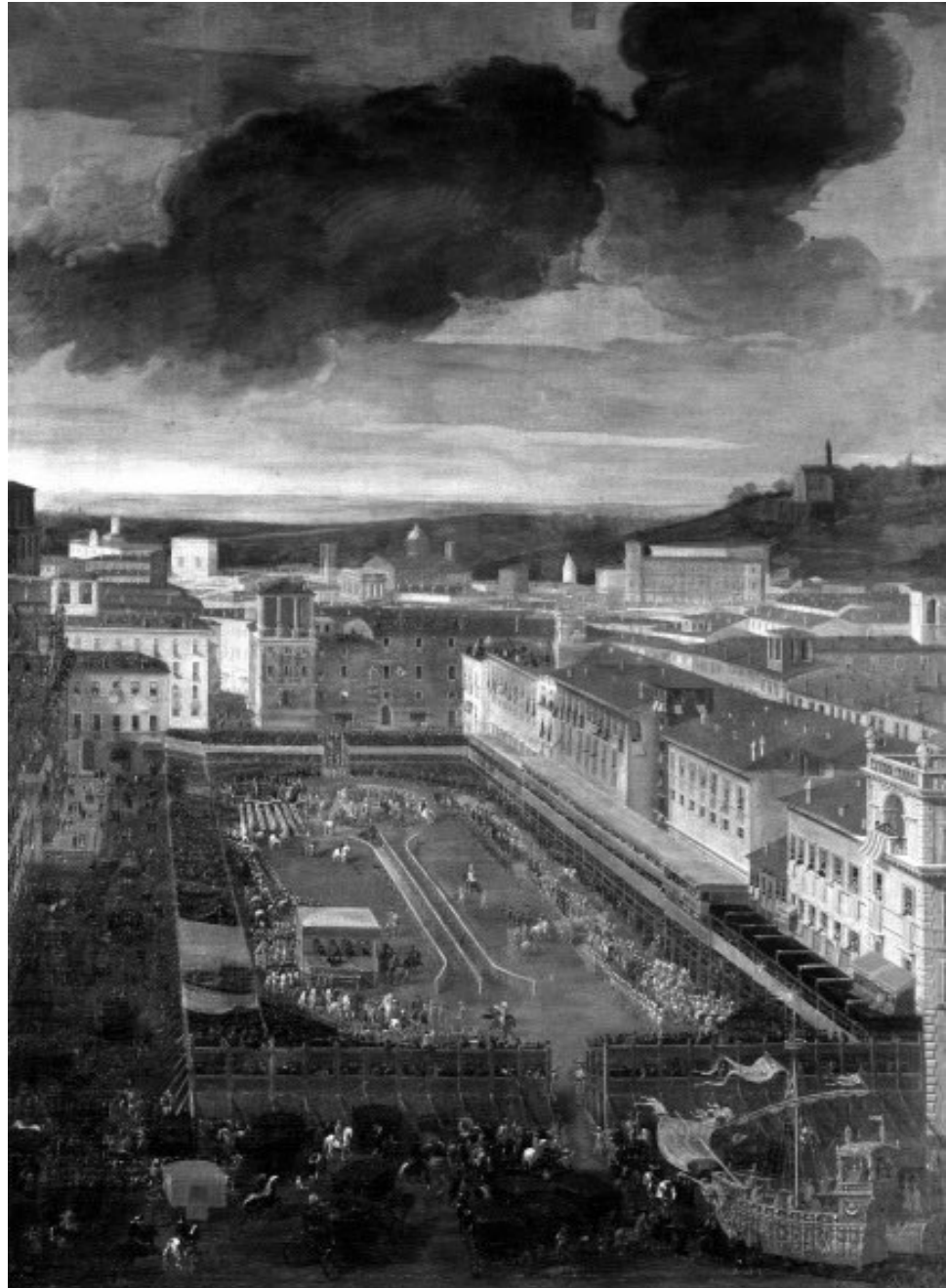
invisible lines provided by this perspectival logic. What changed in the city set was the backdrop: “The rear of the stage [as Hans Belting has suggested] ceased to be merely an image and became space that actors could use”.²¹⁶ In the prologue, the center was blocked by the allegoric figure of Roma. In Act Two, the angel flew from side to side, the figure of Religion descended from a cloud and Alexis’s little nook under the stairs took the center of the backdrop in the effort perhaps to highlight Alexis’ death. The performance of 1634 also included a hell scene, where flames seemed to have been tamed along perspectival lines. In the same performance even the threes of the pastoral scene, which was used for an intermezzo ballet between acts one and two, followed the same logic. In all cases, the vanishing point organized the action, but it also served as a form of social measurement: it was always from the center that the imperfection of the sight separated power from its subjects. This condition was only augmented with the performance.

In the same way that the architecture of the palace did not preclude the recreation of the theater within it, theatrical effects seemed to operate irrespective of the perspectival logic which ordered the sets. Stage machinery supplemented the perspectival order of the stage in so far as it aimed to emphasize crucial moments in the play. The angel flew from side to side as it talked to Alessio without constraining his movement to the perspectival set up of the stage. The cloud machinery rose, descended and opened following its own mechanical logic. Giutti’s stage machinery, as the engraving seems to portray, did not attempt to imitate the clouds, but to control them. Traps concealed and revealed its presence, not to trick the spectator into the belief that the devil might have in fact disappeared, but to remind the audience that they might wish to believe the trick.²¹⁷ These effects aimed to destabilize the perspectival order. As Hans Belting has suggested, a perspective picture, as a place of representation, “offers distance and safety to a viewer”.²¹⁸ Yet theatrical effects, as performance events, arguably aim to narrow such distance. Their fleeting appearance superimposes their sensorial stimuli onto the fixed order of perspectival scenography. Their logic is mechanical, a product of calculation, as it is perspective. Yet their aim is to move the subject into a suspended process of cognition, which nevertheless incites cognition itself. It is here where *admiratio* confronts its affective counterpart. If perspective attempts to rationalize the order of the visible world, theatrical affects aim at visualizing that which escapes the precision of order, but that nevertheless is interested in the artificial construction of a sensible world. The experience of these effects superimposed onto the perspectival logic of the stage cannot be separated from the process of subject formation.

Just as the angel advised Alexis to obey untested laws, technicians in the seventeenth century, as Giutti did for *Sant’Alessio*, must have understood the potential of the theater to operate both in respect to its perspectival setting but separate from it. As Belting argues, in the seventeenth century, “technicians who could simulate clouds and conflagrations became more important than set painters”.²¹⁹ This importance of effects was not only restricted to palace performances, but it was also present throughout the city which was seen as an arena of spectacle. And, more importantly, through theatrical experimentations throughout the city, it became a space in which to explore with the

subjects' affective responses. For example, if we follow the events of the visit of important diplomatic guests during the Barberine times we will find a Rome transformed and its architecture always supplemented with a different theatrical and affective device. In 1634, Prince Alexander of Poland was not only greeted with *Sant'Alessio* but also with a spectacular joust in Piazza Navona, where in the square an enclosed theater was recreated to host one of the most spectacular jousts of the time, celebrated in Andrea Sacchi and Filippo Gagliardi's *Giostra del Saracino*. Or, in 1637–1638, where

Andrea Sacchi, Filippo Gagliardi. *La Giostra del Saracino a Piazza Navona nel Carnevale del 1634*.



the entrance to Rome of the ambassador of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III, Johann Anton, Prince of Eggenberg, the city was transformed along his route. The facade of Palazzo Ceri, which was rented for his visit, was overlaid with lavish decorations and illuminated with candles, large tapestries, insignias, and the like.²²⁰ The main squares of the city were also marked by a series of pyrotechnic

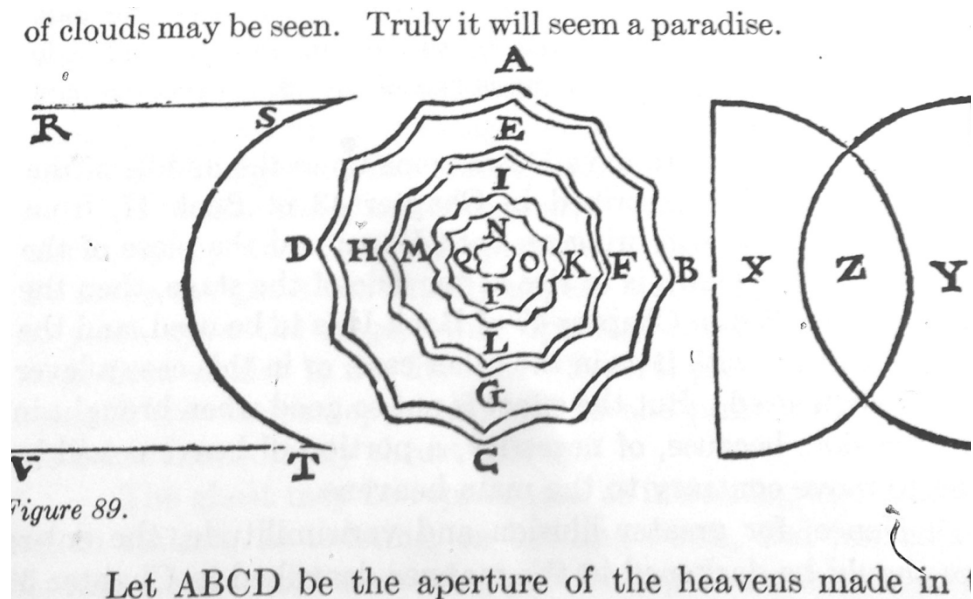
machines, which occupied Piazza Madama, Piazza Spada a Monte Giordano, and Piazza Navona.²²¹ In the same year, 1638, as part of the celebrations for the birth of the Dauphin, the future Louis XIV, a parade was arranged from Ponte Sisto, passing down Via Giulia, past the Farnese Palace and Piazza Navona to the Barberini palace on Via Quattro Fontane. And, again, along the route, palaces were ornamented, banners were hung, pyrotechnic spectacles took place.²²² These spectacles were, of course, events for the elite, but this outward expression, the superimposition of effects onto the fabric of the city, tested the power of the visible over the general public, the *gente bassa*. Paintings of the joust show the roofs of houses that were adjacent to the spectacle of Navona filled with onlookers. This was, in fact, cultivated: we know, for example, that in front of the Barberini palace, fountains were filled with red and white wine for the revelers. This cultivation of admiration by supplementing the life of Rome through fleeting spectacles spread from the palaces to the lives of Romans.

In describing these events, Rome is commonly characterized as the theater of the world.²²³ Along this lines, I want to emphasize the shift from primordially architectural intervention to a focus on the affective realm through theatrical means. Here, lies my suggestion that in the ‘battle for attention’, to borrow Joseph Connors’ analytical framework, the interventions in the city are recuperated through the choreography of affective events. In other words, the city is no longer organized through architectural orders but through affective environments, which, nevertheless, cannot be separated from architecture itself. The shift speaks about the possibility of supplementing and juxtaposing spatial orders through logics of immediacy and surrounding. This superimposition centers the realm of political action around bodies that are receptive to sensorial stimuli. Just as in the theater the mathematical calculation of perspective was supplemented by the mechanical and temporal logic of stage machinery (which was superimposed over it), in the city, architecture was to be supplemented by an affective logic, which emphasized or destabilized the permanence of its stable spatial qualities, without being separate from it. To conceive of the city as a realm in which different orders can be superimposed is to present the city as a machine of wonder dedicated to augmenting the affective experience of the subjects. It is a way to confront the ‘other laws’ referred to by Alexis’ angel: the laws of affective wonder that the Barberini explored in order to construct settings but also subjects through their sensorial experience, an experience that cannot be separated from the calculations of power. At the same time, what I am trying to show with regard to the presentation of Rome as a theater of superimpositions, is the schizophrenic agenda which is embedded into space without conflicting with the logic of existing orders, but which is nevertheless capable of transforming its experience. In other words, this superimposition of order operates at once by accepting established orders, but, simultaneously, by escaping from the order that makes it possible to arise.

L'Impresario: The Production of Wonder

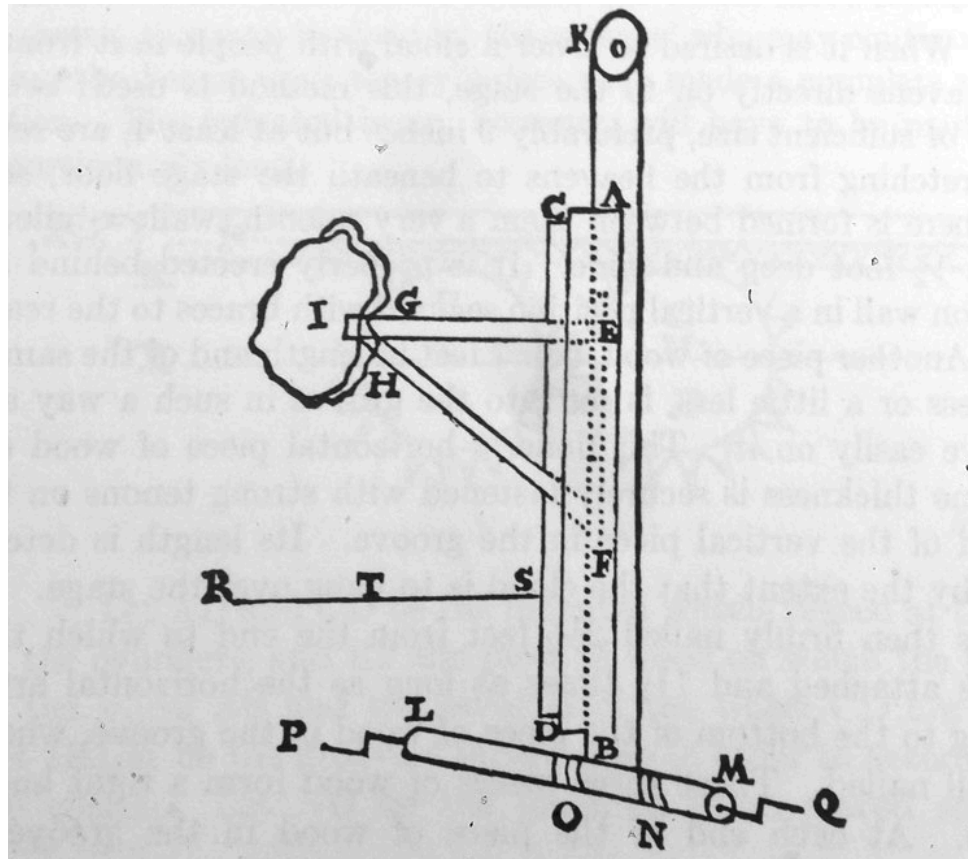
In the previous section we addressed, through Barberini's theatrical events, how the center of power in Rome leaves the architecture scale to operate in the realm of affective experience, and how, in turn, affect operates within an existing given order, while constantly attempting to transgress it. Here we will return to the role of the affect of wonder, as it was artificially constructed through stagecraft, in order to inquire into its role in constructing early relations of subjectivity.

Niccolò Sabbatini. *Pratica di fabbricare scene e machine ne' teatri*, 1638. Figure 89.



To do this, it is instrumental to turn to Bernini's role as a playwright by looking at a play that is believed to have been written in 1644, the year that Urbano VIII died.²²⁴ Titled, retrospectively, *L'Impresario*, this recently discovered comedy is the only surviving record of Bernini's role as a playwright. In *L'Impresario*, Bernini, who was a fervent Catholic and was loyal to the pope, seemed to have found a medium to reflect upon the conditions affecting the artistic practices of his time. The play narrates the production of a play-within-a-play, where the central focus is the malfunctioning of stage machines, or, to put it differently, it is a play about the failure of spectacle itself. This play has also been considered autobiographical: Bernini is represented by the main character, Graziano, who is the creator of the play-within-the-play (performing as *L'impresario*—the theater producer). Yet, as Donald Beecher insists, "the play is never about the man, but about the illusions which are created in the theater and the potential evasiveness of the theatrical experience".²²⁵ As such, Beecher categorizes this play as a "witty manifesto of 'baroque' art",²²⁶ in so far as it touches on the role of deception, stage machinery, and, most important for us, wonder.

Broadly speaking, the play presents Graziano, a theater producer known for his wondrous stage machines, in his effort to produce a new comedy, which he is compelled to devise for his prince. While not comfortable with the task, Graziano undertakes the project. He hires carpenters and painters, and, anxious to define the subject of the play, he devises another Graziano in his own image



to be the main character of the play-within-the-play. A parallel story runs through the play, centered around others' desire to learn the secrets of Graziano's wondrous cloud machines. In a crucial scene where the clouds are being tested, a misunderstanding arises regarding what the effect of the cloud should be. In the scene, those who observed the test and those who created the device appear to be satisfied. The carpenters announce the success of their work by envisioning the laughter it will create. The courtier imagines the applause. The servants, instead, present their encounter as evoking a happiness they have failed to see in their 'ugly' world. They describe it as a "piece of paradise brought down to earth! ... And, now I call myself a happy man".²²⁷ Yet, Graziano disagrees categorically and declares:

“Damn you all, stage machines aren’t to make people laugh, but to make them gaze in wonder. Who the hell’s going to marvel at this contraption? You don’t have to be brilliant to see it’s only good for a laugh.

$$[\dots]$$

Ingenuity and design constitute the Magic Art by whose means you deceive the eye and make your audience gaze in wonder, make a cloud stand out against the horizon, then float downstage, still free, with a natural motion. Gradually approaching the viewer, it will seem to dilate, to grow larger and larger. The wind will seem to waft it, waveringly, here and there, then up, higher and higher—not just haul it in place, bang, with a counterweight.”

Here Graziano is clear: the fundamental role of theatricality is not to entertain but to make the audience gaze in wonder. While laughter is circumstantial, wonder must be carefully constructed: it is a choreographed sensation. Graziano was not simply aiming to stupefy his subjects in awe, rather, I would like to argue, the role of his artifice was *to reorient* the experience of the audience toward

themselves. This becomes clear when we are made privy to the private reflections of the servant (Coviello), who, in recounting his encounter with Graziano's machine, states:

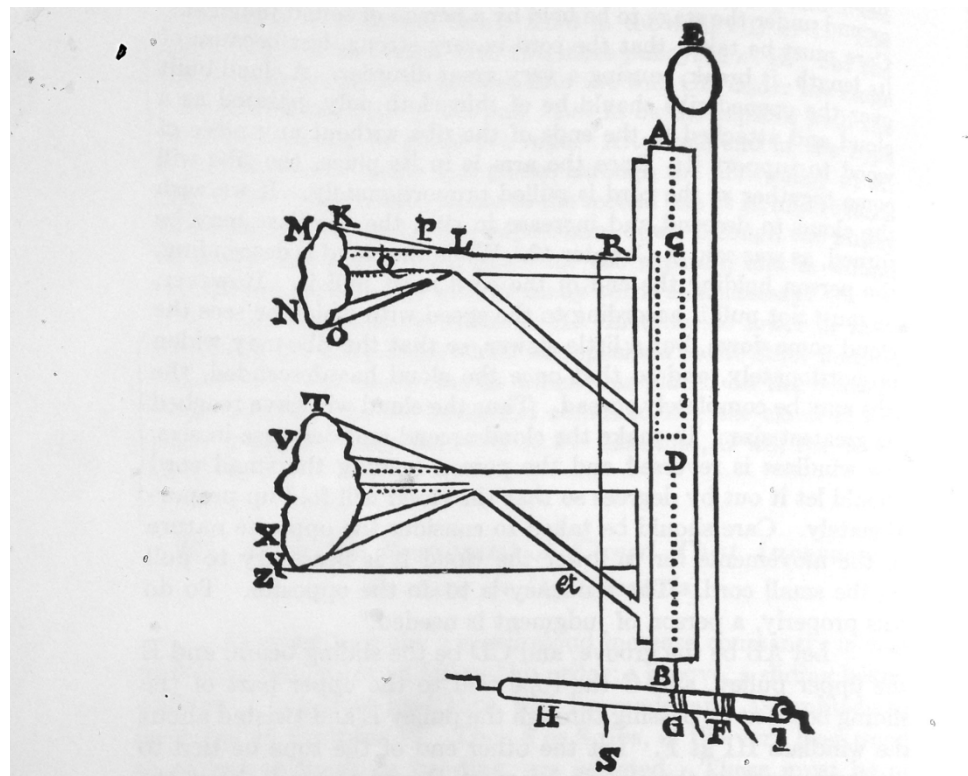
"I'm no longer Coviello. I'm a body without a soul. I'm completely beside myself. I no longer care for this world. You too, beware: don't start longing to see Messer Graziano's things.

[...]

Why? Because they will strip you of your soul, enchant you, turn you to stone. Visions of paradise, things to take your breath away. It would be worth the fingers on one hand to see them."

Here the Coviello's experience leaves him in limbo. Yet we know that this type of astonishment was not accepted by Graziano. As we have seen, for Descartes, too, wonder was clearly to be differentiated from astonishment. In Descartes' words, astonishment, as opposed to wonder, "makes the entire body remain immobile like a statue, and renders one incapable either of perceiving anything of the object but the face first presented or, consequently, of acquiring a more specific knowledge of it".²²⁸ By contrast, wonder as we have discussed in relation to Spinoza, is a novel encounter which does not deny either the capacity to sense or to think. Instead, it simply highlights the possibility of the bond between the cognitive and the sensorial.

Niccolò Sabbatini. *Pratica di fabbricare scene e machine ne' teatri*, 1638.
Figure 82.



In the same way, the role of the cloud in the stage augments the sensorial experience of the spectator while opening his or her cognitive capacity to make sense of its artificial construction. It is not intended to incite a passive stupefaction, it is not a joyful moment: it is simply the mark, the register, of a sensorial and cognitive encounter. As Mary Ann Frese Witt has stated, "the 'wonder to be felt by the spectators meant that they also had to be aware of the creative activity of the artists'.²²⁹ In other words, the audience encountering the cloud have neither fallen into the illusion of the *machinatore* (the theatrical production and trickier), nor have they accepted the artificial naturalness of the cloud:

perhaps they have simply realized that in order for the collective illusion of the theater to take place, they have to become part of the theatrical illusion. In this way, perhaps what Graziano simply desires is for the audience to call into question not the artifice of the cloud, but the artificiality of their own experience. The experience of the cloud serves as a mark of how subjects can be affected by the artificiality of a collective experience. Or, as Deleuze stated: “the essence of the Baroque entails neither falling into nor emerging from illusion but rather *realizing* something in illusion itself, or of tying it to a spiritual *presence* that endows its spaces and fragments with a collective unity”.²³⁰

Theater as an experimental device at the dawn of the modern state serves perhaps as a model through which to reformulate the collective illusion of temporal power. The possibility that its very artificiality can be not only known but accepted is perhaps the greatest discovery of the Baroque theater. The evocation of theatrical wonder calls for the awareness of being affected by the encounter, both sensorially and cognitively. The suspense that Spinoza sees in wonder, in the theater plays itself as a mechanism to awaken body and soul. This opening of the cognitive and sensorial bond is nevertheless ready to be recuperated if the theater is to continue. As Maravall has argued, wonder is a “psychological effect that for a few instants brings the forces of contemplation or admiration to a halt so as to let them act more vigorously when they are afterwards released.”²³¹ Wonder suspends and releases, reorienting the audience in a persuasive relational play which allows both theater and audience to constitute themselves. The theater cannot exist without the audience, nor without its affective and persuasive mechanism. Wonder operates both by reinforcing the separation between the stage and the audience and at the same time simultaneously binding them in a persuasive relation. In other words, in confronting the illusion of the theater, the audience is confronted not only with mechanisms of persuasion but also with the very mechanisms that form them as subjects.

In other words, the encounter with the wondrous cloud in *L'Impresario* was not intended to make the audience fall into the trickery of Graziano, but to open the audience to the realization and acceptance of theatrical illusions. In this way, to confront the wondrous stage effects is to confront the audience with their own position as subjects partaking in a collective illusion of power. The moment in which the audience projects themselves into the imaginary play, as they participate in a collective illusion, cannot be separated from questions of subjectivity.

¹ Theocritus. *The Idylliums of Theocritus: With Rapin's Discourse Upon Pastorals*. London: E. Curl, 1713, p. 65.

² My main source of reference in regard to the role of the Papal Curia during the Thirty Years' War is: Wedgwood, C V. *The Thirty Years War*. New York: New York Review Books, 2005.

³ Flusser, Vilém. *The History of the Devil*. Flusser Archive Collection. Minneapolis: Univocal, 2014, p. 103.

⁴ Ibid., p. 102.

⁵ "From the very beginning of the Reformation the question of the status of post biblical miracles in general and modern miracles in particular had divided Catholic and Protestant writers". For a concise history of the question of miracles see below: Mullin, Robert Bruce. "Horace Bushnell and the Question of Miracles." *Church History* 58, no. 04 (1989), 460–473.

⁶ 'Inculturation' was an attempt carried out especially by the Jesuits to communicate their beliefs to the non-Christian regions.

⁷ I am drawing this argument from the work of philosophers Giorgio Agamben and Walter Benjamin, who both understood well that messianic time was one of immediacy. As Walter Benjamin wrote: "For every second was the small gateway in time through which the Messiah might enter". For a concise version of this argument see: Agamben, Giorgio. *The Church and the Kingdom*. Ed. Alberto Toscano. London; New York: Seagull Books, 2012. Benjamin, Walter. *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings. Vol. 4, 1938–1940*. London: Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 397.

⁸ For a rich account of the role of Urbano VIII as poet see: Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Policies*. Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 95–142. And Hammond, Frederick. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage Under Urban VIII*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994, p. 20.

⁹ "As was already apparent in his choice of name, modeled on Urban II (1088-99) who instigated the first crusade, Urban VIII liked to see himself as a holy warrior." Referenced from: Delbeke, Maarten. "Framing History: The Jubilee of 1625, the Dedication of New Saint Peter's and the Baldachino." In *Festival Architecture*. Edited Bonnemaïson, et al. New York: Routledge, 2008, p. 138. Although, it is also known that Urbano VIII had also considered the title Clement IX because he admired Clement VIII "under whom his ecclesiastical career had begun". Referenced from: Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁰ Although he situated his family at the center of power in Rome, he was also known for complaining about them, as follows: "And the pope said that he had four relatives: one was a saint, and didn't perform miracles (this was Cardinal Francesco Barberino); one was a friar, and had no patience (this was his brother the cardinal...); one was an orator, and didn't know how to talk (and this was Cardinal Antonio); and one was a general, and couldn't find his sword with both hands (this was the price prefect)." Quoted from: Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 20.

¹² Crucial here was the initial protection he gave to Galileo Galilei, and his later condemnation of Galileo's work. For the classical account of the controversy surrounding the relation between Urbano VIII and Galileo, see: Redondi, Pietro. *Galileo Heretic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1989. More recently, the Galileo affair was reassessed in: McMullin Ernán ed. *The Church and Galileo*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.

¹³ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 46

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 47

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Gamrath, Helge. *Farnese: Pomp, Power and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2007. Gamrath, in her account, argues: "There is no doubt that Cardinal Farnese—in addition to the fortunate coincidence with the appointment of Leo X—was at the same time in the forefront of the development taking place precisely at the start of the 16th century. That is to say that the cardinals' various households developed into sub-courts under the Curia." On the context of Leo X, see for example: Tafuri, Manfredo. "*Jugum Meum Suave Est*: Architecture and Myth in the Era of Leo X." In *Interpreting the Renaissance*. Op. cit., pp. 99–156.

¹⁸ Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 1–14. Hammond provides a detailed account of their salaries and expenses. Also, see the classic account of Leopold von Ranke's account, which provides a concise account of this issue. According to von Ranke, Francesco had an income of 100,000 scudi by 1627, and Taddeo and Antonio had a similar one by 1635. "In short time [Von Ranke argues] the regular yearly income of the three brothers was computed at 500,000 scudi... [I]n the course of this [Urbano VIII's] pontificate, the incredible sum of 105,000,000 of scudi passed into the hands of the Barberini." See: Ranke, Leopold von. *History of the Popes: Their Church and State, Volume 3*. Revised ed. Translated by E Fowler. New York: The Colonial Press, 1901, pp. 16–18.

²⁰ Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 14.

²¹ The historiography on Urbano VIII's artistic patronage and architectural commissions is incredibly rich. It is important to emphasize the studies by Patricia Waddy of Palazzo Barberini; the critical account by Joseph Connor of the interests of the Barberini in Piazza Trevi; Irving Lavin's investigation of Urban VIII's patronage; and for more general issues the accounts of Torgil Magnuson or more formal accounts such as that by Rudolf Wittkower. See, respectively: Waddy, Patricia. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan*. Cambridge; MIT Press, 1990. Connors, J. "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." Op. cit. Lavin, Irving. *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. Magnuson, T. *Rome in the Age of Bernini*. Op. cit. Wittkower, Rudolf. *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 to 1750*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1973.

²² Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 424.

²³ For the most compelling history of the conflation of these notions see: Daston, Lorraine and Park, Katharine. *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750*. Cambridge: Zone Books, 1998. For a brief account of the historiography on wonder see: Bynum, Caroline Walker. "Wonder." *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 1 (1997): 1–26.

²⁴ Greenblatt, Stephen. "Invisible Bullets." In *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, p. 24.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

²⁶ This shift has been best expressed in: Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Routledge, 2010. See also the introductory section of: Alpers, Svetlana. *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*. Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 2009.

²⁷ Deleuze, Gilles. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, p. 125.

²⁸ See Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986. Chapter XIII, 5–8.

²⁹ Pye, C. "The Sovereign, the Theater, and the Kingdome of Darknesse" In *Representing the English Renaissance*. Op. cit., pp. 279–301.

³⁰ "...It is manifest, that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warren, as is of every man, against every man. For Warre, consisteth not in Battle only, or the act of fighting; but in a tract of time, wherein the Will to contend by Battle is sufficiently known: and therefore the notion of Time, is to be considered in the nature of Warre; as it is in the nature of Weather." Hobbes, T. *Leviathan*. Op. cit., p. 185.

³¹ Pye, C. "The Sovereign, the Theater, and the Kingdome of Darknesse". Op. cit., p. 284.

³² See: Greenblatt, S. "Invisible Bullets." Op. cit.

³³ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 46

³⁴ A similar argument with a focus on the sovereign is found in: Pye, C, "The Sovereign, the Theater, and the Kingdome of Darknesse". Op. cit.

³⁵ *Il Sant' Alessio* is an opera in three acts which staged the life of the historical Saint Alessio, from the fifth century. It was performed in Palazzo Barberini in 1632 and 1634, the composer was Stefano Landi, the libretto of 1634 was written by Giulio Rospigliosi (later Pope Clement IX), and the scenography of 1634 was designed by Pietro Da Cortona. See, Landi, Stefano composer. *Il Sant' Alessio*. Drama Musicale in 3 Acts. 2008.

³⁶ See, for example, the apparatus designed to celebrate the *Quarantore*—the commemoration of the Forty Hours of the Sacrament.

³⁷ The most complete compendium of these celebrations can be found in Fagiolo Dell'Arco, Maurizio, and Silvia Carandini. *L'effimero Barocco. 2 vols*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1977.

³⁸ Foucault, M. *Security, Territory, Population*. Op. cit.

³⁹ For a similar argument centered on the notion of prodigy in England from 1657 to 1727, see: Burns, William E. *An Age of Wonders*. Manchester: Palgrave, 2002.

⁴⁰ See Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 95–142. And Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 393.

⁴¹ Daston, L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit.

⁴² Aristotle. *Metaphysics*. Tr. Hugh Lawson-Tancred. New York: Penguin Books, 1998, p. 9, Book Alpha, 982b.

⁴³ Rubenstein, Mary-Jane. *Strange Wonder: The Closure of Metaphysics and the Opening of Awe*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Aristotle. *Rhetoric*. Translated by W Rhys Roberts. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 2004, Book 1, Chapter 11, 1371a.

⁴⁵ It is important to remember that Aristotle's *Poetics* was, according to Caroline Walker Bynum, "virtually unknown until the fifteenth century".

⁴⁶ For example, in *Poetics* 1452a we find: "The imitation is not just of a complete action, but also of events that evoke fear and pity. These effects occur above all when things come about contrary to the expectation but because of one another. This will be more astonishing than if they come about spontaneously or by chance, since even chance events are found most astonishing when they appear to have happened as if for a purpose..." And in *Politics* 1460a: "While it is true that astonishment is an effect which should be sought in tragedy, the irrational (which is the most important source of astonishment) is more feasible in epic, because one is not looking at the agent." Aristotle. *Poetics*. Translated by Malcolm Heath. London: Penguin, 1996. pp. 17, 41.

⁴⁷ Hunzinger, Christine. "Wonder." In *A Companion to Ancient Aesthetics*. Ed. Destrée and Murray. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. 2015, pp. 422–438. She provides a concise exposé of the concept of *thaumazein*. With this comment she summarizes a wider discussion on the notion: however, I believe it also represents the two main aspects of Aristotle's use of wonder.

⁴⁸ Bynum, C. "Wonder." Op. cit., p. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 6. fn 21. Also, note that according to Daston, *Poetics* was rediscovered in 1498 by Giorgio Valla. See: Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., p. 358.

⁵⁰ Aquinas. *Summa*. Op. cit. question 105.

⁵¹ It is also important to remember that Aquinas was the student of the German Dominican Albertus Magnus, who was known for his extensive expositions of Aristotle, but also for his disdain for wonder. See Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., pp. 39–47, 113. See also Augustine's *City of God*. Op. cit. Book XXI and XXII.

⁵² Bynum, C. "Wonder." Op. cit., p. 7.

⁵³ Dobell, Brian. *Augustine's Intellectual Conversion: The Journey From Platonism to Christianity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 50. In reference to: Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*, 16. PL 42, 90.

⁵⁴ Aquinas, T. *Summa*. Op. cit., p. 85, vol. 14 question 105.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 85, question 105.

⁵⁶ Rubenstein, MJ. *Strange Wonder*. Op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁷ Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., p. 363. In this respect, Aquinas writes: "Thus if we look to the world's order as it depends on the first cause, God cannot act against it, because then he would be doing something contrary to his foreknowledge, his will or his goodness. But if we take the order in things as it depends on any of the secondary causes, then God can act apart from it; he is not subject to that order but rather it is subject to him, as issuing from him not out of a necessity of nature, but by decision of his will. He could in fact have established another sort of pattern in the world; hence when he so wills, he can act apart from the given order, producing, for example, the effects of secondary causes without them or some effects that surpass the powers of these causes. Thus *Augustine, God does act contrary to the normal course of nature, but no more goes in any way contrary to the supreme law, than he goes against himself.*" Aquinas, T. *Summa Theologiae*. [Vol. 14]. Op. cit., p. 81, question 105.6.

⁵⁸ Aristotle. *Metaphysics*. Op. cit., p. 9, Book Alpha, 982b.

⁵⁹ Bynum, CW. "Wonder." Op. cit., p. 8.

⁶⁰ Daston, L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, Op. cit., p. 124.

⁶¹ Bynum, CW. "Wonder." Op. cit., p. 5.

⁶² In Books XXI and XXII of *City of God* the emphasis is on centering the importance of the miracle in the renewal of the body, both as experienced by Christ and subsequently by many *martyrs*. He situated miracles as a necessary condition of belief, and a reminder of a life yet to come. In the context of the sack of Rome, that miracles were not defined, as in Aquinas, as surpassing the capabilities of nature but instead as operating within the laws of nature, might have been instrumental in asserting the role of the Church and the assertion of an afterlife. "...[M]iracles were necessary before the world believed, in order that it might believe." Augustine. *The City of God*. Op. cit., p. 1706,1712. B. XXII, 8. For a concise account of this issue, see: Cavadini, John. "Ideology and Solidarity in Augustine's City of God." In *Augustine's City of God: A Critical Guide*. Edited by James Wetzel. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 93–110.

⁶³ For this see: Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit. See as well: Le Goff, Jacques. "The Marvelous in the Medieval West." In *The Medieval Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

⁶⁴ On the reception of Aquinas, see: McGinn, Bernard. *Thomas Aquinas's Summa Theologiae: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2014, pp. 120, 149, 155.

⁶⁵ Aquinas stated: "wonder is the best way to grab the attention of the soul". *Summa Theologiae* q. 32, 8,1. Quoted from: Bynum, C W. "Wonder." Op. cit., p. 5.

⁶⁶ Aquinas, T. *Summa*. Op. cit., Vol. 20, p. 51, question 32,8. Note that Bynum has argued that the desire for knowledge culminated in an encounter with majesty, and not in possessing knowledge by itself. See: Bynum, CW. "Wonder." Op. cit., p. 10.

⁶⁷ Quoted from: Bynum, CW, "Wonder", Op. cit., p. 10.

⁶⁸ Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., p. 131.

⁶⁹ Bynum, C W. "Wonder", Op. cit., p. 5.

⁷⁰ Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., p. 120.

⁷¹ Bynum, C W. "Wonder" Op. cit., p. 17.

⁷² Ibid., p. 18. See, for example, the treasury of the French royal abbey of Saint-Denis, where relics were displayed side by side with rarities from across the world. Also, the relics of Saint Eustachian in the fifteenth century catalogs of St. Stephan in Vienna, or the reliquary tryptic of the Baptistry in Florence, among other acts of collecting. See as well: Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., pp. 68–88. And, Pomian, Krzysztof. *Collectors and Curiosities: Paris and Venice 1500–1800*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.

⁷³ Flusser, V. *The History of the Devil*. Op. cit., p. 103.

⁷⁴ Refer to William Eamon's writings on the history of late medieval sciences, especially: Eamon, William. "Technology as Magic in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance." *Janus* 70 (1983): 171–212. See as well: Bynum, C W. "Wonder" Op. cit., p. 17.

⁷⁵ The classical example here is Marco Polo's travels in the early fourteenth century; however, one could also place under this category the journey to the Americas. On the latter, see: Greenblatt, Stephen. *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

⁷⁶ In his 1644 *Principles of Philosophy* Descartes "insisted that 'there was nothing so strange in nature' as to defy explanation by his mechanical philosophy". Quoted from: Daston L. *Wonders and the Order of Nature*. Op. cit., p. 219.

⁷⁷ Descartes, René. *The Passions of the Soul*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub, 1989. Second Part, p. 52, article 53.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 33–34, article 27.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 52, article 53.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 58, article 73.

⁸¹ Ibid.

- ⁸² Ibid., p. 59, article 75.
- ⁸³ Ibid., article 74.
- ⁸⁴ Malabou, Catherine. *Self and Emotional Life: Philosophy, Psychoanalysis, and Neuroscience*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013, p. 9
- ⁸⁵ Spinoza, Benedictus. *Ethics*. Translated by E M Curley. New York: Penguin Books, 1996, p. 105, Book III, P59, IV.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 105, Book III, P59, IV.
- ⁸⁷ Malabou, C. *Self and Emotional Life*. Op. cit., p. 10.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 11.
- ⁸⁹ One of the most penetrating recent accounts of this confluence is that of: Gobert, R. Darren. *The Mind-Body Stage: Passion and Interaction in the Cartesian Theatre*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013, pp. 17–47.
- ⁹⁰ For a concise history of Urbano VIII in relation to his culture of artistic patronage, see: Magnuson, T. *Rome in the Age of Bernini*. Op. cit., vol 1, pp. 215–360.
- ⁹¹ See: Lavin, Irving. "Urbanitas Urbana. The Pope, the Artist, and the Genius of the Place." In *I Barberini E La Cultura Europea Del Seicento*. Ed. Mochi Onori, et al. Roma: De Luca, 2007, pp. 15–30.
- ⁹² Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 60–94.
- ⁹³ The palace was bought in 1604.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 69. I must clarify that the money used to build this chapel was inherited, upon the condition that the Barberini used the resources for family interests. The decision, however, to build the chapel was Maffeo's.
- ⁹⁵ Ranke, L. *History of the Popes*. Op. cit., v. 3 p. 16.
- ⁹⁶ Rietbergen translates his post as "Cardinal-Secretary of State—basically the Crouch's prime minister-cum minister of foreign affairs". Rietbergen's account provides new archival material, especially regarding his diplomatic missions to Spain. See: Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 143–180. And, Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 13.
- ⁹⁷ Taddeo also succeeded his father Don Carlo Barberini not only in the prefectorate of Rome but also as Second Prince of Palestrina. Taddeo was also the General of the Papal Guard, the General of the Holy Church, the General of the Papal Galleys, and the Keeper of Castle Sant'Angelo. See the account of the chronicler Giacinto Gigli in: Ibid., pp. 19–60, 190.
- ⁹⁸ For a general account of the artistic patronage of Maffeo Barberini, see: Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- ⁹⁹ Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 136.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 137.
- ¹⁰¹ The wonderful account of Peter Rietbergen builds in fact on the understanding of the role of art of Gabrielle Paleotti, a crucial Tridentine reformer. For the writings of Paleotti, see: Paleotti, G. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. Op. cit.
- ¹⁰² Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 336–375.
- ¹⁰³ See his bull of 1631. Ibid., p. 365.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 337.
- ¹⁰⁵ Maier, J. *Rome Measured and Imagined*. Op. cit., pp. 180–183
- ¹⁰⁶ Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 340.
- ¹⁰⁷ Barker, Sheila. "Pasquinades and Propaganda: The Reception of Urban VIII." In *The Papacy Since 1500: From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor*. Edited by Corkery and Worcester. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 74.

¹⁰⁸ This is a tactic that he practiced even before he became pope. Symbolic, in this regard, was the use of his poems to remain neutral among different factions, yet also to coerce them. For example, he equally wrote poetic odes to San Lorenzo of Spain and to Saint Louis IX of France. Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 110.

¹⁰⁹ Initially, Urbano VIII's strategy was to assign papal nuncios as neutral mediators. But the actual interests of the pope were subject to much rumor. His role as mediator was paradigmatically disregarded by both France and Spain, who, in 1626, signed the Peace of Monzón without the involvement of the Holy See in the negotiations. Barker, S. "Pasquinades and Propaganda" Op. cit., p. 74.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 75.

¹¹¹ Magnuson, T. *Rome in the Age of Bernini*. Op. cit., V. 1, p. 224.

¹¹² Ranke, L. *History of the Popes. Volume 3*. Op. cit., pp. 19–24.

¹¹³ This bull was dated from May 17, 1639. Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., p. 72.

¹¹⁴ Nussdorfer, Laurie. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992, pp. 43, 95–117.

¹¹⁵ Prodi, P. *The Papal Prince*. Op. cit., pp. 46, 72.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 59–78. For the counterargument, see: Caravale, Mario, and Alberto Caracciolo. *Lo Stato Pontificio Da Martino V a Pio IX*. Torino: UTET, 1978, pp. 352–353. For a more neutral study one can consult the reading provided by Laurie Nussdorfer, who, instead of debating whether the Papal States were advancements or regressions in the process of modern state building, looks instead into the complexity of the political and social formation of the Papal States during the papacy of Urban VIII. Nussdorfer, L. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Op. cit.

¹¹⁷ The main sources of income of the Farnese were the *monti Farnese*, the interest of which was secured with the revenues of Castro and Ronciglione. The revenues of Castro benefitted from the privileges granted by Pope Paul III Alessandro Farnese with respect to the export of corn. For a more detailed account, refer to Ranke, L. *History of the Popes. Volume 3*. Op. cit., p. 23

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ This is a characterization that began with Urbano's contemporary biographer: Giacinto Gigli. See: Gigli, Giacinto. *Diario Romano (1608–1670)*. Ed. Giuseppe Ricciotti. Roma: Tumminelli, 1958.

¹²⁰ "Bellica Pontificum non fundit machina flammas, Sed dulcem, belli qua perit ignis, aquam". Quoted from: D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Roma Vista Da Roma*. Roma: Liber, 1967, p. 363.

¹²¹ Borsi, Stefano. *Roma Di Urbano VIII : La Pianta Di Giovanni Maggi, 1625*. Roma: Officina Ed., 1990.

¹²² Maier, J. *Rome Measured and Imagined*. Op. cit., p. 185.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 187.

¹²⁴ *Visualisierungs prozess* is a term explored by Renaissance architectural scholar Christop L Frommel, by which he emphasizes the search for visual prominence by which an object could be appreciated from a distance. Connors follows his method to analyze minor squares in Rome. See: Frommel, Christoph L. *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2007.

¹²⁵ Connors, J. "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." Op. cit., p. 232.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 228.

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 211, 233. As recorded by an anonymous account of the time, the piazza could accommodate up to one hundred carriages while still leaving unimpeded a path down the center to the south entrance to the palace. For a comprehensive account of Palazzo Barberini in its context see: Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*, Op. cit., p. 62. Among other urban works under the auspices of Urban VII, we could cite the straightening of Via Urbana (the ancient Vicus Patricius road, and the interests of the Barberini in Piazza Trevi).

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 229.

¹²⁹ Nussdorfer, Laurie. "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997), p. 161.

¹³⁰ Sonnino, Eugenio. "The Population in Baroque Rome." In *Rome, Amsterdam: Two Growing Cities in Seventeenth-century Europe*. Ed. van Kessel, et al. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1997, p. 56. While Rome was considerably smaller than Paris and London, which reached a population of over 400,000 in 1650, its importance was comparable as it was both the capital of the Papal States and the capital of Christendom. See: Nussdorfer, L. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Op. cit., p. 26. For a comprehensive account of the changes in population during the time, refer to: De Vries, Jan. *European Urbanization, 1500–1800*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013.

¹³¹ Botero, Giovanni. *On the Causes of the Greatness and Magnificence of Cities*. Translated by Geoffrey Symcox. Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 2012, p. 68.

¹³² Nussdorfer, L. "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome." Op. cit., p. 169.

¹³³ For an episode of this confrontation, see: Ibid., pp. 169, 171.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 169.

¹³⁵ Note that not only does this Maxim have several versions, it has also been amended by Blaise Pascal, as well as Valentine Conrat (1603–1675). I am placing the emphasis on the theater as opposed to comedy, which is central in the original version, as follows: "Tous les grands divertissements sont dangereux pour la vie chrétienne; mais, entre tous ceux que le monde a inventez, il n'y en a point qui soit plus à craindre que la Comedie. C'est une *peinture* si naturelle et si delicate des passions qu'elle les *anime* et les fait naître dans notre cœur, et surtout celle de l' amour, principalement lors qu'on *se* représente qu'il est chaste et fort honnête: car, plus il paroît innocent aux ames innocentes, et plus elles sont capables d'en estre touchées. On se fait *en* mesme temps une conscience fondée sur l' honesteté *de ces* sentiments, et on s' imagine que ce n'est pas blesser la pureté d'aimer d'un amour si sage. Ainsi on sort de la Comedie le cœur si rempli de toutes les douceurs de l'amour, et l'esprit si persuadé de son innocence, qu'on est tout préparé à recevoir ses premières impressions, ou plutôt à chercher l'occasion de les faire naître dans le cœur de quelqu'un, pour recevoir les memes plaisirs et les memes sacrifices que l'on a veüs si bien repentez sur le theatre." de Sablé, Madeleine Souvré. *Maximes De Mme De Sablé (1678)*. Edited by Damase Jouaust. Paris: Libr. des bibliophiles, 1870, pp. 46–47.

¹³⁶ It is notable that even Alberti emphasized this ambiguity in festivities. On the one hand, referencing the famous Greek poet Epimenides, Alberti warned of the fear that festivities caused damaged to Athens. And, on the other hand, following Plato, Alberti insisted that frequency was crucial for festivities "because of their extraordinary benefit to the well-being of the state and the honor of the city." Alberti, Leon Battista. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Translated by Tavernor, Rykwert and Leach. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1988, Book VIII, pp. 268–269. Regarding the Council of Milan of 1582 held by Carlo Borromeo, see: Prosperi, Adriano. "La Chiesa Tridentina E Il Teatro: Strategie Di Controllo Del Secondo '500." In *I Gesuiti E I Primordi Del Teatro Barocco in Europa*. Ed. Chiabò et al. Roma: Centro studi sul teatro medioevale e rinascimentale, 1995, pp 15–30. And: Bucchini, Alessandra. *The Spectacle of Clouds, 1439–1650: Italian Art and Theatre*. Surrey: Ashgate. 2014, p. 72.

¹³⁷ Bouwsma, William J. *The Waning of the Renaissance, 1550–1640*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 138. The chapter "Renaissance Theater and the Crisis of the Self" provides an overall account of the role of theater at the turn of the sixteenth century in Europe (pp. 129–142). See as well: Taviani, Ferdinando. *La Commedia Dell'arte E La Società Barocca*. Ed Marotti et al. Roma: Bulzoni, 1991, pp. 3–37.

¹³⁸ Weaver, Elissa. *Convent Theatre in Early Modern Italy: Spiritual Fun and Learning for Women*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 94, fn. 139.

¹³⁹ According to Paolo Prodi, the first draft of the Discourse had already been composed by January 1578. Gabriele Paleotti is considered by Peter Rietbergen to be one of the most influential theorists of the Tridentine. One of the most interesting accounts of Paleotti has been articulated by Paolo Prodi, especially in relation to its political implications. See: Prodi, Paolo. *Il Cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597)*. Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1959. See also his introduction to Paleotti's *Discourse*: Paleotti, G. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. Op. cit.

¹⁴⁰ For other condemnations of the theater towards the end of the sixteenth century, see the role of Francesco Vendramini, Patriarch Lorenzo Friuli, in relation to Venice, the Jansenists in France, and the Puritans in England, among others. Objections to theaters, their control and their moral consequences are a continuous object of study from this point on. See, for example, Jean Jacques Rousseau's article in *L'encyclopédie de d'Alembert*.

¹⁴¹ See the Decree 'On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of the Saints, and on Sacred Images' in the 25th Session of the Council of Trent of December 1563, under Pius IV. For an account of the rich historiography around the Council of Trent, see: O'Malley, John W. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000. For an English translation of the Decree, see: Tanner, Norman P. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2 vols. 1990.

¹⁴² Quoted from: Paleotti, G. *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. Op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 308. Book 2, Chapter 51.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., Chapter 52

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 23. See especially the last two chapters of Paleotti's Discourse.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 24. See Paleotti's *Consistorii Consultationibus* (On the consultations of the sacred Consistory).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 8. "The debate pro and contra Michelangelo's Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel, and indeed his entire oeuvre, has rightly been seen as a litmus test for this period of transition, from total condemnation in a treatise by Giovanni Andrea Gilio to the positive assessment on the part of Paleotti [...]."

¹⁴⁹ Augustine. *Confessions*. Translated by Henry Chadwick. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 208.

¹⁵⁰ For an account of the development of sacred music during this period see: Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit.

¹⁵¹ Buccheri, A. *The Spectacle of Clouds*. Op. cit., p. 72

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁵⁴ Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., p. 58. See also: Lamothe, Virginia Christy. "The Theater of Piety: Sacred Operas for the Barberini Family (Rome, 1632–1643)." Doctor of Philosophy Department of Music, 2009, pp. 100–103.

¹⁵⁵ Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁵⁶ Girolamo Lunadoro in *Relatione della Corte di Roma*, 1635, p. 55.

¹⁵⁷ Gregorio Leti in *Itinerari della Corte di Roma*, 1675, p. 496.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Music scholar Virginia C Lamothe records expenses made by Cardinal Antonio Barberini to construct booths and *gelosie*, additionally to the benches and stools for a comedy. Lamothe, V C. "The Theater of Piety". Op. cit., p. 101. Architectural historian Patricia Waddy records that Paul V was known to have used a *gelosie* to watch over the activities in piazza Scossacavalli in the Borgo. Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit, pp. 22, 351 fn 94.

¹⁶⁰ "The family had been settled in Florence since the fourteenth century and had enjoyed moderate prosperity in business by the time of Antonio Barberini's marriage to Camila Barbados in 1561. Antonio's death only ten years later (1571) left Camila a widow with six young sons. Two of them, first born Carlo (1562–1630) and second-young Maffeo (1568–1644), seemed to offer most promise and were taken as protégés by uncles—the pattern of the seventeenth century already apparent in that Carlo was groomed for a career in business by his uncle Taddeo Barberini in Ancona, and Maffeo, after studies in law at the university of Pisa, went to Rome to live with another uncle, Monsignor Francesco Barberini (dead in 1600), Apostolic Protonotary, and to find his future in the Church. Alessandro, Nicolò, and Gian Donato died before this generation came into prominence. The youngest son, Marcello (1569–1646), called Antonio after his deceased father, became an exemplary Capuchin monk." Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., p. 128.

¹⁶¹ Rietbergen, P. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 424. In these words, Peter Rietbergen synthesizes the unofficial biography of the cultural projects of the Barberini written by Leone Allaci (1586–1669), the Cardinal's librarian.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 424.

¹⁶³ Ibid., pp. 181–217. Note that the English spelling of Prince Johann Antonn Fürst von Eckembergh, Duke of Krumau, is more often given as Eggenberg.

¹⁶⁴ John Milton was in Rome in the first months of 1639. During his visit, he attended a recital by the singer Leonora Baroni, for whom subsequently he wrote *Ad Leonoram Romae canentem*, "To Leonora, Singing in Rome". On February 17 he attended the comic opera *Chi soffre speri*, with its libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi. The following day Milton had a private audience with Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who was a sort of prime minister in Rome and chief advisor of his uncle. Campbell, Gordon. *John Milton*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 25.

¹⁶⁵ Bonney, Richard. "Cardinal Mazarin and the Great Nobility During the Fronde." *Seventeenth-Century French Studies Newsletter* *Seventeenth-Century French Studies Newsletter* 2, no. 1 (2013): 15–20.

¹⁶⁶ Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, Op. cit., p. 393.

¹⁶⁷ Historian Nussdorfer used this term in relation to foreign ambassadors. See: Nussdorfer, L. *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Op. cit., pp. 39–49.

¹⁶⁸ The Sforza palace was bought by Francesco Barberini in 1625. Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., p. 174.

¹⁶⁹ Between 1627 and 1628 Taddeo Barberini acquired the lands to the south of the Sforza Palace.

¹⁷⁰ Originally the Sforza palace was built in the mid-sixteenth century the villa of Rodolfo Pio Di Carpi and soon later that of Giulio della Rovere. Blunt, Anthony. "The Palazzo Barberini : The Contributions of Maderno, Bernini and Pietro Da Cortona." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* / ed. E H Gombrich (1958): 256–287.

¹⁷¹ For the different options refer to: Waddy, Patricia Ann. "The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* / Society of Architectural Historians (1976): 151–185.

¹⁷² Both Anthony Blunt and Patricia Waddy have argued that the Barberini palace had no precedent in the Rome of the time. Blunt, A. "The Palazzo Barberini" Op. cit., 256–287. Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., pp. 172–282.

¹⁷³ The actual genesis of the Barberini palace has remained enigmatic. For a wonderful account of its design history see the account of Patricia Waddy, who concludes: "The Palazzo Barberini is not a unity, the inevitable outcome of a single persistent thought; nor is it properly a synthesis. . . . The innocent question 'Who designed it?' seems inadequate." Waddy, P. A. "The Design and Designers of Palazzo Barberini." Op. cit., p. 183.

¹⁷⁴ Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op.c it., pp. 228. Waddy, in following the biography of Taddeo Barberini written by his brother Francesco Barberini, describes Taddeo's influence in the final design of the palace.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 229. For precedents where two palaces were consolidated in one see Palazzo Farnese, Palazzo Borghese, Palazzo Mattei, or Palazzo Chigi. However, as Patricia Waddy has emphasized, all of these examples more commonly followed the unified image of a singular palace. Waddy considers the external expression of the two palaces in Palazzo Colonna Barberini in Palestrina as a potential inspiration for Taddeo behind the final design of the Palazzo Barberini in Quattro Fontane.

¹⁷⁶ The fresco was painted between 1632 and 1639. For an in-depth reading of this fresco see: Scott, John Beldon. *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

¹⁷⁷ It is important to remember that performances, as Frederick Hammond describes, were "presented several times for different audiences—one night for cardinals and prelates, one night for noblewomen, one for noblemen, and so on..." Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 202.

¹⁷⁸ The room was approximately 18 meters by 13 meters. Performances in palaces were frequent. According to Waddy the average audience was of about one hundred persons. We know that the opera *Il S. Alessio* was performed there during the carnival of 1632. See: Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., pp. 242.

¹⁷⁹ For more precise details of the role of theater in Rome, see: Ademollo, Alessandro. *I Teatri Di Roma Nel Secolo Decimosettimo*. Roma: L. Pasqualucci, 1888.

¹⁸⁰ Patricia Waddy specifies 136 by 118 roman palmi, and her conversion is: 1 palmo=0.2234 meter, or about 9 inches; 10 palmi=1 canna. Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., pp. 57–58.

¹⁸¹ I am drawing on the descriptions by Patricia Waddy and Frederick Hammond. For the latter, see: Hammond, Frederick. "The Creation of a Roman Festival." In *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco*. Edited by Stefanie Walker. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 53–69.

¹⁸² Please note that there is much debate regarding the date of completion of the Barberini theater. Some believe that it would have been ready by 1634. Waddy insists on the exceptional nature of this purposely built construction. Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., p. 58.

¹⁸³ This is how Frederick Hammond described the interior of the Barberini court theater. Hammond, F. "The Creation of a Roman Festival." Op. cit., pp. 57.

¹⁸⁴ The date of completion of the theater varies in different accounts. For example, in the report of Ademollo of the theater of the sixteenth century, and based on local *Avvisi*, he takes 1634 as the moment at which *St. Alessio* had already been performed, and suggests that the theater might have been completed already in 1633. Waddy considers instead that until the year 1637 performances were still held at the *salotto*. And Waddy agrees with Frederick Hammond on 1639 as the date of the first performance in the new theater, which was inaugurated by Cardinal Francesco with the opera *Chi soffre speri*. See: Ademollo, Alessandro. *I Teatri Di Roma Nel Secolo Decimosettimo*. Op. cit., pp. 7–25. Waddy, P. *Seventeenth-century Roman Palaces*. Op. cit., p. 57. Hammond, Frederick. "The Creation of a Roman Festival." Op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁸⁵ Buccheri, A. *The Spectacle of Clouds*. Op. cit., p. 71.

¹⁸⁶ Alberti emphasizes the role of the different 'show buildings'—circus, amphitheater and theater. Alberti, Leon Battista. *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Op. cit., Book VIII, p. 268. On Alberti's relation to theater, see: Cesarini Martinelli, Lucia. "Metafore Teatrali in Leon Battista Alberti." *Rinascimento* (1989): 3–51.

¹⁸⁷ Panofsky, E. *Perspective As Symbolic Form*. Ibid., pp. 31,71.

¹⁸⁸ For the process of those involved in theatrical performances refer to: Hammond, F. "The Creation of a Roman Festival." Op. cit., pp. 59–60. Tamburini, Elena. *Due Teatri Per Il Principe: Studi Sulla Committenza Teatrale Di Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1659–1689)*. Roma: Bulzoni, 1997, pp. 318–319.

¹⁸⁹ According to Hammond, the younger Barberini had begun their spectacle production as early as 1624, when a musical serenade was performed for many important parties in Rome. From then on, many spectacles followed, such as a tragedy about the contest of Apollo with Marsyas, performed in the small Sforza palace in August 1628, and the opera *Diana Schernita*, performed in 1629. See: Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 199–202.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 213.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 202.

¹⁹³ Verses transcribed from a 2008 reproduction: Landi, S. *Il Sant' Alessio*. Op. cit., Act II.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., Act II. The allegorical figure of religion.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ We know about this detail from the performance of 1632 because it was recounted in the memoirs of Jean-Jacques Bouchard, a member of the audience. Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 203–204.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 202. According to Hammond, *Il S. Alessio* was prepared for the carnival of 1631, but it was cancelled at the last minute due to the plague. Hammond's account is crucial as he clarifies the history of *Il Sant' Alessio* and its erroneous association with Bernini.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 23

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. Hammond has referred to the play as a chivalric epic.

²⁰⁰ "... in 1634, the Inquisition published strict new regulations limiting devotions to persons who had not been authorized by the Church hierarchy. No new cults could be established without the pope's approval, unless they had existed for at least a century." Nussdorfer, L. *Civic Politics*. Op. cit., p. 170.

²⁰¹ *Prologue*. Rome states: "And since it is my wish to demonstrate the charity which so pleases me, let the links of these chains be broken! over hearts alone do I wish to enjoy a loving reign." Landi, S. *Il Sant' Alessio*. Op. cit.

²⁰² Ibid. Verses taken from the end of the prologue sung by the chorus in reply to Rome's introduction.

²⁰³ A version of this understanding has been proposed as an explanation for the context of the performance in the midst of the Galileo affair, where the pope effectively turned his back on the long relations he had had with Galileo, to the concern of many academics, see: Coelho, Victor. *Music and Science in the Age of Galileo*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1992.

²⁰⁴ Hammond argues that justice and mercy are a common theme in the Barberini's plays, which was noticeable already in 1628 in the Barberini tragedy of the "contest of Apollo with Marsyas", performed in August 1628 in the small Sforza place. Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 201.

- ²⁰⁵ Harvey, Susan Ashbrook. *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, pp. 19–21. For a version of the Alexis story, see as well: Odenkirchen, Carl J. *The Life of St. Alexis in the Old French Version of the Hildesheim Manuscript*. Brookline, Mass.: Classical Folia Editions, 1978.
- ²⁰⁶ Frederick Hammond emphasizes this principle in his analysis of the Barberini opera from 1628 to 1644. See: Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., pp. 199, 203.
- ²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 204.
- ²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 210.
- ²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 205.
- ²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 210.
- ²¹¹ Ibid.
- ²¹² Landi, Stefano composer. *Il S. Alessio: Dramma Musicale: Dall'Eminentissimo, Et Reverendissimo Signore Card. Barberino, Fatto Rappresentare Al Serenissimo Prencipe Alessandro Carlo Di Polonia*. Roma: Paolo Masotti, 1634.
- ²¹³ Ibid.
- ²¹⁴ Hammond provides an account of a spectator who describes the performance as follows: “works on thought and machines, but rivaling nature... the changes of the sides [wings] and of the perspective ever more beautiful; but the last one... with the distant sight of the garden, incomparable.” The costumes were sumptuous, the entrances and exits “measured, and in time,” dances “ingenious and lively.” Hammond, F. *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome*. Op.cit., p. 210.
- ²¹⁵ My account of the sets is based on the commemorative score published in 1634. See: Landi, S. *Il S. Alessio*. 1634. Op. cit.
- ²¹⁶ Belting, Hans. *Florence and Baghdad: Renaissance Art and Arab Science*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011, p. 195.
- ²¹⁷ Irving Lavin has a fantastic account of the Cornaro chapel, which I draw on in this reflection. He examines the role of Bernini’s sculpted ‘audience’, which observes the Ecstasy of Saint Teresa. He states: “The conventional, expected illusion in a chapel was that the setting of the liturgy was symbolic; the unexpected illusion Bernini superimposed is that the setting is real. Thus, the Teresa chapel does suggest a prestidigitator; in fact, its point is that it suggests a prestidigitator—a sublime, metaphysical, theological prestidigitator who has consciously and as if by magic created and labeled this world, the inhabitants of which, namely we, act as though it were real.” Lavin, Irving. *Visible Spirit: The Art of Gianlorenzo Bernini*. London: Pindar Press, 2007, Vol. 1, p. 30.
- ²¹⁸ Belting, H. *Florence and Baghdad*. Op. cit., p. 228.
- ²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 196.
- ²²⁰ Dandeleit, Thomas. "Setting the Noble Stage in Baroque Rome." In *Life and the Arts in the Baroque Palaces of Rome: Ambiente Barocco*. Edited by Walker. New York: Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 43–45.
- ²²¹ Fagliolo dell'Arco. *L'effimero Barocco*. Op. cit., pp. 96–105.
- ²²² Dandeleit, T. "Setting the Noble Stage in Baroque Rome." Op. cit., pp. 42–43.
- ²²³ Rietbergen, Peter. *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*. Op. cit., p. 7.
- ²²⁴ Note that Bernini’s play was found untitled: *L’Impresario* is the title suggested by Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella, who provided the first English translation of the play in 1985. On the other hand, Cesare D’Onofrio, who discovered the folios of the play within a ledger on repairs to the 1642 Trevi Fountain, published a transcription of it in 1963 as *Fontana di Trevi*. Recently, the first theatrical restoration of this play in two acts was published in: Perrini, Alberto. ‘*La Verità Scoperta dal Tempo*’, Truth Unveiled by Time, 2007.
- ²²⁵ Bernini, Gian Lorenzo. *The Impresario by Gian Lorenzo Bernini*. Translated by Donald Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella. Carleton Renaissance Plays in Translation. Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1985, p. 8.
- ²²⁶ Ibid., p. 6. See also: Beecher, D A. "Gianlorenzo Bernini’s the Impresario: The Artist as the Supreme Trickster." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1984): 236–247. P. 242.

²²⁷ Fragments taken from Act II, IV. Bernini, G L. *The Impresario*. Op. cit., pp. 51–52.

²²⁸ Descartes, R. *The Passions of the Soul*. Op.cit., Second Part, p. 58, article 73.

²²⁹ Witt, Mary AF. *Metatheater and Modernity: Baroque and Neobaroque*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2013, p. 110.

²³⁰ Deleuze, G. *The Fold*. Op. cit., p. 125.

²³¹ Maravall, José Antonio. *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, p. 216.

CONCLUSION

Rome is present in every page of this work, yet the research was driven less by an aim to uncover a hidden history of Rome that the modernists might have concealed and more by a desire to bring forth an understanding of the early modern city as a spatial and affective medium where relations of power are constituted. This is a reading that I believe is necessary, if we want to understand architecture's political role beyond that of representation. Indeed, the central claim this thesis advances is that architecture does not only represent power relations, it constitutes them.

To unfold this argument I had to reimagine our means of architectural analysis. I have made a conscious attempt to avoid the singular case study and the monographic reading of a singular protagonist in order to concentrate instead in the network of relations between spatial histories and political theories. For this reason, the objects that have framed this investigation might appear foreign to canonical histories of the modern western city. I have instead constructed this history through an analysis of disparate elements that constituted life and action in the early modern Rome. In this way, this investigation moves the reader from the treatment of the city surfaces, to city-wide orchestration of public customs along the streets, to techniques developed through theatrical means, all of this with the aim of understanding the role that the realm of immediacy plays in constituting a new arena in which persuasive relations between power and subjects began to be tested. It is in this way, that I have shed light to the role that spatial experience has had in defining, and challenging forms of subjectification.

That which emerges out of a close investigation of the spatial practices of the papal court over two centuries is that if there is one trait that has remained in the transition from pastoral power to modern power, it is the realization that, in order to construct subjects of power, one has also to construct the *subjects' desire for power*. It is precisely in cultivating the latter that the form in which the subject experiences and dwells in space becomes so fundamental to the formation of this particular early form of modern subjectivity. This understanding of subject formation is drastically distinct from that constituted through the Foucaultian frame of disciplinary, juridical or administrative mechanisms; yet, nevertheless, it is not antagonistic to them. Rather, I have argued that the development of spatial and affective techniques of persuasion provided the conditions of possibility for the rational practices of the early modern state to emerge. In other words, what we see taking shape within the secularization of practices in the papal court is a latent form of state power that is accompanied by spatial techniques of persuasion as a means to form, develop and monopolize affective relations between rulers and ruled.

This argument, however, could not have been possible without the emphasis I have given to tracing the development of these spatial techniques of persuasion as part of a broader mechanism of security in its own right specific to the papal state of this time. If, for Michel Foucault, the role of security emerges from his interest in understanding the rationality of modern governmentality,¹ in this investigation, a different form of security is brought to the fore. In my account, security is constituted through the affective grip that the papacy establishes on the people through its spatial interventions. It is here that space arises as the crucial medium through which the ruler will attend to the subject's care (*cura*) and will cultivate its citizens' love. But, more importantly, repeatedly through the different passages, I demonstrated that the primary site in which these experiments take place is in the architectural composition of the city and in those spaces that captured the subjects' sensorial attention.

Architecture, as this thesis shows, is crucial precisely because it can operate as a crucial intermediary between power and its subjects. Throughout these pages, architecture and the recognition of the city as a sensible medium has been a crucial yet subtle means by which papal power came to address the faithful. This form of mediation evokes relations that avoid the enunciation of the command or the binding rule; instead, it cultivates a subtle reciprocity between papal power and the faithful. Whether this relation is cultivated through the daily experience of the city or in the interior of the courtly theater, it relies on considering the subject as being capable of receptivity—not simply as subjects that 'accept reality', but also as those who could challenge that reality. In this understanding emerges an early form of subjectification in which the act of obedience is not passive, but one that, at least in some degree, involves a conscious act of will. Not only that: if there is such a thing as a willful obedience, as my argument suggests, this is, however, not a stable condition; it is one that must be maintained. Here I have tried to explain that its pursuit was facilitated by architectural means and through spatial interventions. In other words, between the mid-fifteenth and mid-seventeenth

centuries, at the outset of the early modern state, papal power seemed to have discovered that the cultivation of a political allegiance was not only made possible by force, but it was also possible through spatial persuasion.

This is an argument that, I believe, resonates with those of Giorgio Agamben, who has insisted that modern western power cannot operate without glory—without its ceremonies, acclamations, protocols and other liturgical practices.² Similarly, in my reading I have explored how this affective dimension of power is present with, and does not contradict, the administrative apparatuses that Prodi has already explored. If Prodi is indeed correct that Rome served as a political laboratory influencing the process of state-building in Europe, this was only in so far as it was more specifically a laboratory of spatial political seduction. In other words, the increasing secularization and the development of centralized practices during this period were complementary to the aim of cultivating what Brivio has referred to as the ‘citizen’s love’. This coupling between the affective and the administrative, I insist, was not important solely for the purposes of Counter-Reformation: more importantly, it was instructive for the convoluted process that brought about the emergence of the early modern state. This is not to say that we should think about the Papal States as having the form of a mature State, but rather that we should see how their pursuit of the bond between the affective and the administrative resonated with those early modern state forms that emerged north of the Alps from the seventeenth century onwards. In this way, it is my aim, as I believe it was Agamben’s, to see the transformation of practices and procedures within the papal court as being a lens through which we are reminded of this foundational coupling, and through which we should investigate contemporary relations of power and subjectivity. In stating this, I am not trying to imply that the same means of intervention are valid today to cultivate such a coupling. For example, Agamben’s understanding of the function of glory has emphasized how its modern form is no longer found in the realm of acclamation or liturgy, but in that of media practices and in the formation of public opinion.³ In the same sense, here I am not trying to imply that the spatial manifestations I traced in these pages as registers of magnificence or *admiratio*, for example, are to have the same manifestation or impact today. The aim instead was to identify different forms in which the affective has been intrinsic to the constitution of early modern power, and to call for an understanding of this relation today, while giving historical specificity to this relation.

By way of concluding, I also wish to draw attention to a more theoretical point which underlines the thesis—the conceptual history of the three concepts I have here explored. I do not make any claim of originality as regards the strategy by which I have organized my thesis. This field used to be covered by what was called the history of ideas. This discourse certainly recognized that terms such as ‘beauty’ had a historical dimension, but it contented itself with mapping the historical changes in the meaning of such terms. We might call such a practice a historical semantics. The problem with such an approach is that while it recognized that the meanings of terms changed over time, it did not really recognize that what changed over time were not just the meanings of words but the identity of the

different discourses within which they appeared. Central to the excavation of discourses, at the level at which the historian must engage, has been the work of Michel Foucault. This move from the word to the discourse is most rigorously taken up in his writings, who insists on the historicity of the formulations which previously would have been taken at ‘face value’. This whole area has become a complex and fruitful mode of historical inquiry. I hope the form in which I have assessed the transformation of the three conceptual categories here in question—magnificence, liturgy and *admiratio*—draws effectively from the lessons of both Foucault and Koselleck.

Lastly, it is important to clarify that, in so far as my materials stem from the period before Kant and the development of aesthetics, I have not sought to try to find a proto-aesthetics—an ‘aesthetics before aesthetics’. Rather, I have been consumed by the conviction that the reanimation of the categories of *magnifence*, *liturgy* and *admiratio* allow me not only to challenge moments of the architectural historiography on Rome, but also to take issue with the form in which the field’s understanding of architectural affects can be expanded. Indeed, over the period I have here investigated, during the Renaissance and up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, these categories provide a means of articulating an intellectual texture of the ways in which papal power considered its works as having a public effect, which answers in part the larger question of the citizen’s affective relation to the objects and interventions in the city. Again, this is not a Kantian aesthetics: it is a complex web of categorization which links the external material interventions in the city with the opening up of subjective feelings, on the part of the citizens, of loyalty, love, gratitude and pride. It is the hope of this thesis that these problems will be increasingly used in the critical analysis of the history of the modern city. Indeed, if my argument is correct, then the understanding of the affective dimension of modern power should be radically reimagined. Here, I have provided a glance into such a narrative, where the realm of sensorial immediacy is not only instrumental to the formation of early modern power, it is in fact foundational.

¹ Foucault, Michel. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College De France, 1977-78*. 2009. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

² Agamben, G. *The Kingdom and the Glory*. Op. cit.

³ Ibid.

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FIGURES

Section one

Giovanni Battista Piranesi. 1756. "Veduta dell'antica Via Appia". In *'Le Antichità Romane'*. MET Collection. New York Collection. Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011. No. 2012.136.862.2. (Etching, plate 35.7 x 24.2cm).

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Giovanni Battista Piranesi. 1750circa. *Elevazione del Ponte Ferrato*. 'Le Antichità Romane IV'. XXIII, 192, Tom IV. Collection of the MET. New York. Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011. No. 2012.136.862.2. (Etching, plate 35.7 x 24.2cm).

Section two

Ordine della cavalcata pontificale dal Vaticano al possesso di S. Giovanni Laterano. Maggio del 1585. Ioh. Guerra dis., 15(85). British Museum: North library 134 g. 10 Popish ceremonies vol. I. fol. 158.

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Io Francisci Bordini. 1588. *De Rebus Preclare Gestis a Sixto V Pon Max*. Plates 19, 22, 44, 62.

Domenico Poggini. 1587. Sixtus V Pont Max Ann III. *Cura Pontificia*. Medal.

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Giovanni Ambrogio Brambilla (attributed to), 1575. *Le Sette Chiese di Roma*. In: *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Published by Antonio Lafreri. Etching sheet: 15 5/8 x 20 1/6in, 16 15/16x22 1/8in. Volume 1, plate 12. (41volume. 72place). Metropolitan Museum of New York Collection. Roger Fund. Drawings and Prints.

Photograph by Salvatore Sansaini. Biblioteca Vaticana, Sala Sistina. *Presa di Possesso del Laterano per Sisto V, cogli ambasciata Giapponesi*. Original fresco from 1585.

Section three

Albrecht Dürer, 1514, "Venus and Cupid the Honey Thief". Ink, and watercolor on paper 21.6 x 31.3cm.

Giovanni Maggi, 1625. Bird's eye view of Rome.

Michel Felibien. *Histoire de Labbaye Royale de Saint-Denys en France*, 1706.

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Andrea Sacchi, Filippo Gagliardi. *La Giostra del Saracino a Piazza Navona nel Carnevale del 1634*. 1634. Oil painting, 300x120cm, Museo di Roma collection.